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Saturday Review

January 23, 1971 50¢

CAN WE AFFORD TOMORROW?

A REPORT ON NATIONAL NEEDS AND RESOURCES BY

John V. Lindsay
J. Irwin Miller
Jerome M. Rosow

AND OTHE

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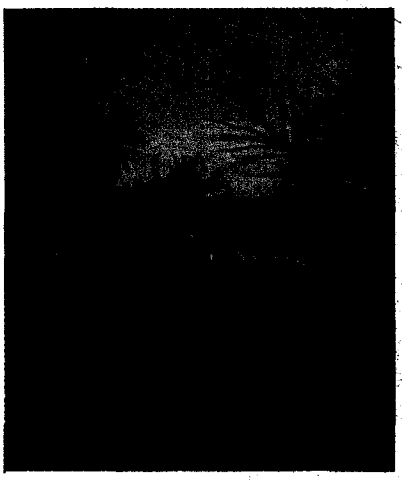

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January 23, 1971

Saturday Review

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Phoenix Nest

Edited by Martin Levin

Mr. Sullivan Discusses the Stock Market (With Apologies to Mr. Arbuthnot)

A COURTROOM.

Q. Mr. Sullivan, you have stated under oath that you are the Wall Street "expert" who is often quoted in the Business section of the N— Y—k T——s?

A. Yes, but I'm often referred to as "an insider" and sometimes as "a spokesman for a major firm."

Q. Thank you. To get things in perspective, Mr. Sullivan, just why did the Dow lose two points yesterday?

A. That was a technical correction.

Q. And the day before?

A. That was a test of the 750 support level.

Q. You mean that investors want to see how far down the market can go so they sell their stocks?

A. Not exactly. You see, there was some profit taking. That tends to drive the market down.

Q. Well, isn't it possible to sell at a profit and have the market go up?

A. Of course. But some traders got out because they didn't like the reply the President got from the Soviets. Others were upset by freight-car loadings.

Q. Does this mean that the news of the day affects the prices of stocks?

A. Not the blue chips. Only the cats-and-dogs, the glamour issues, oils, and aircrafts.

Q. By the bye, just what is a glamour issue?

A. That would be either a conglomerate which has just taken on a manufacturer of banjos or a stock that moves very rapidly in both directions either because the product they make has a brilliant marketing potential or because people aren't buying it right now owing to worry about the Middle East.

Q. Why is the market low at this time?

A. Because of the price-earnings ratios. They have been too high.

Q. How are these ratios figured, may I ask?

A. Certainly you may. If one is discussing pre-tax earnings, for example, there are four different accounting methods by which these figures may be arrived at. If there is no extraordinary income, for example, say for the sale of an asset that has been losing money —such as, let's say, a printing plant that is one of the subcorporate entities in a multiphase omnium-gatherum of which the other components are, perhaps, an ice cream plant, a fabricator of air-frames, a photocopy lab, and a production unit for freeze-dried Chinese foods—whatever the income may be is treated, in this particular instance, as corporate aggrandizement.

Q. And there are three other methods?

A. At least. Then you figure the actual price of the stock on any given day as against the expectation of the after-tax disbursements, subtracting the amounts to be set aside for contingencies, sinking fund, plant expansion, pension plans, and so forth, and the board then announces, or doesn't, whatever dividend shall be awarded. Or passed. This gives you your multiple.

Q. Well, can money be made in the stock market?

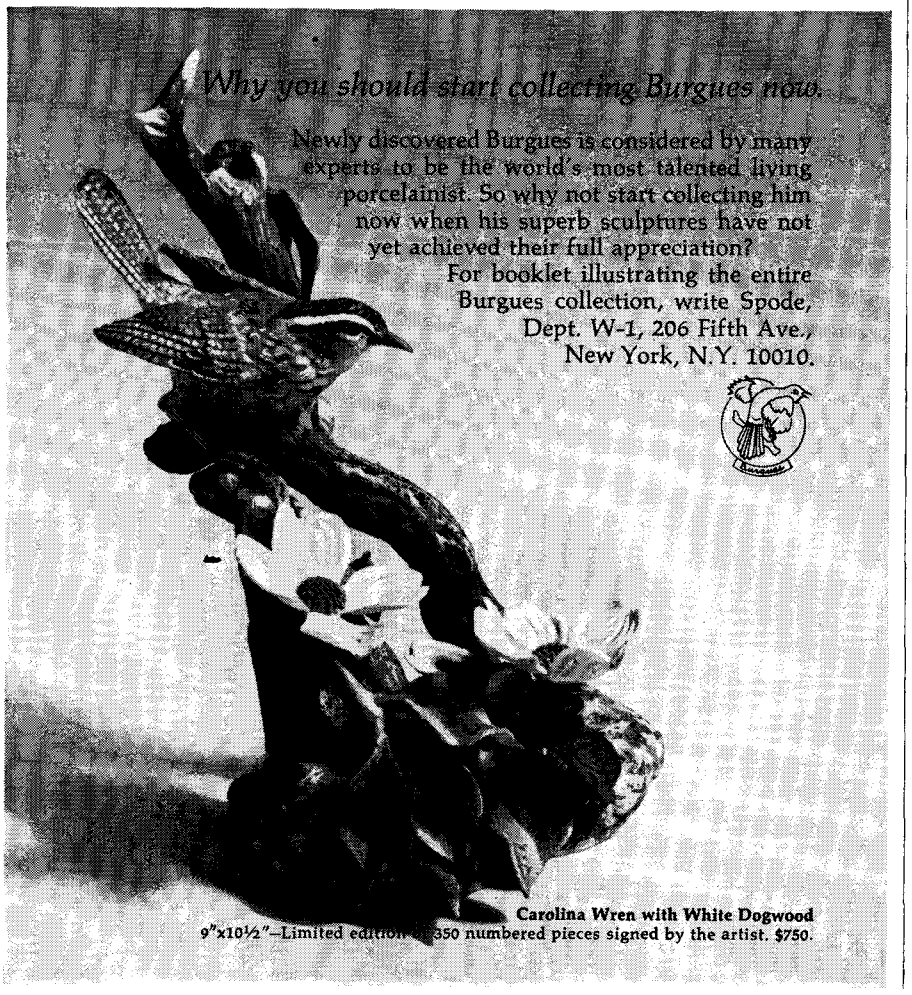
A. If you average the prices of every common stock starting with the year 1920, I think you will find that the increment—supposing that the profits had been reinvested—would more than match the rise in the GNP.

Q. This may not be relevant, but can you suggest a good stock?

A. That of course would depend on whether you are interested in growth or in income.

Q. Thank you, Mr. Sullivan.

A. Any time. —HENRY MORGAN.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Appellations

IN LOOKING UP an address of a high school friend, I have just been perusing the Greater Springfield Telephone Directory—the Springfield in Missouri, the Springfield that always caused us citizens of it to wonder why on earth Easterners inevitably thought of Massachusetts or Illinois or even Ohio when they heard that name.

This telephone directory is a delight. It has quickly wafted me back to my girlhood in the Ozarks, where at least one kind of imagination is still in full flower and babies start off in life with custom-made names that are going to keep them, ever, from getting mixed up with anyone else.

How about Coy for a man's given name? Then there are Verlin, Pernie, Cuby, Okla, Kizzie, Loss, Lather, and Dazel. Elza is a well-liked label for a

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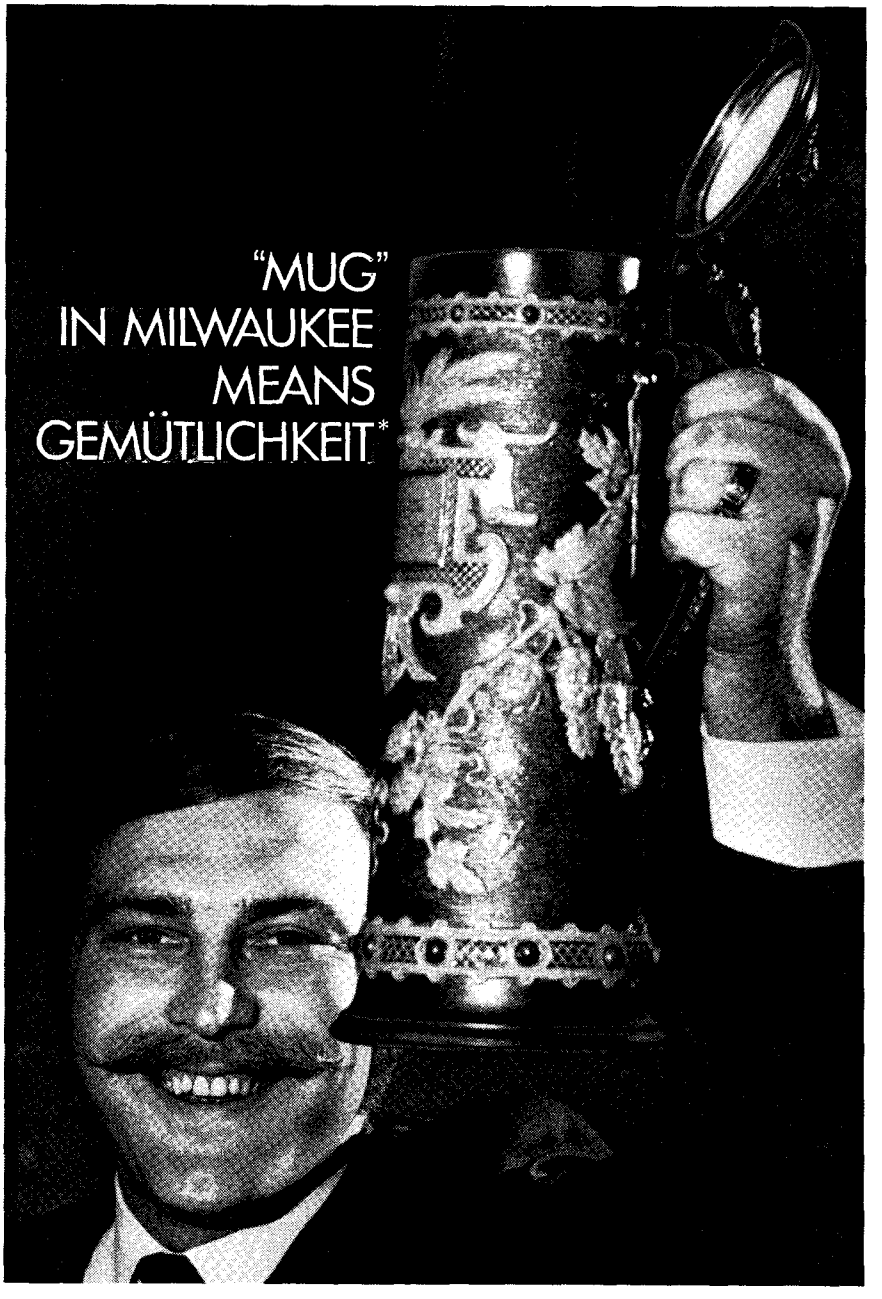

Today, 'mug,' meaning cup, is rapidly being overshadowed by 'mug' meaning assault and strong-arm robbery.

Except in Milwaukee, the safest large city in the country.

In Milwaukee, 'mug' still evokes the traditional gemütlichkeit of friendship, good food, and drink.

Nationwide, serious crime increased by 11% in 1969 according to FBI figures. In Milwaukee, serious crime *decreased* by 14%, continuing an impressive record of crime *control* and *reduction*.

That's very important when you're thinking of moving your plant or business — and your people.

Write or call the Division of Economic Development for the information you need on Milwaukee as your best move. Better yet, pay a visit or hold your next sales meeting or convention in Milwaukee.

You'll agree that Milwaukee's gemütlichkeit is truly a refreshing way of life. Write for Gemütlichkeit folder — Dept. SR-171

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*Milwaukee hospitality, gracious living, concern for neighbors, cordial acceptance and friendliness.

man-child and also Oral (I never got used to that, even when I lived there). Orville is a favorite, and, to make clear that your son is not just any Orville, you may spell it Orval, Arval, or Arvil. In fact, spellings vary as much as European attempts to record Arabic and Oriental place names. There are Estle, Estal, and Estel, as well as Ershel, Oshel, and Hurchel. Onas and Onis seem to have a common root, but I can't think what.

I like this refusal to be tied to common spelling. If a man cannot choose a name and how to spell it, what can he choose? Toney, for example, gives class to an ordinary name. And isn't Othor more interesting than a conventional spelling immediately associable with the King of the Round Table. Sie clearly distinguishes a man from the king of the Persians and all his namesakes. Oliff does not seem too Scandinavian, nor Oneta too Spanish, nor Heloice and Claris too French. Colista does not even seem very Greek. And Lewalla is a purely Ozarkian constellation of letters. So is Youless, even with its overtones of the Civil War general.

Originality rages in the condensing and compounding of such names as Sherlu, Bonabeth, Joella, Luetta, and Maudell. Coialeen may also be a compound, and I think Orvan and Orlin sprang from the heads of parents who couldn't bring themselves to choose between equally engaging possibilities. Some of the feminine names represent flights of poesy that you don't find just every day in the twentieth century: Amberline, Avonelle, Harlene, Lodine, Parthenia, Zeola, Novele, Nordene, Wava, Clesbia, Glyndolyn, and Bardna.

Certain sounds ring well in the Ozark ear, and in the book you can find Irl, Verl, Burl, Murl, and Hearl, not to mention Oma, Ora, Ona, Oda, Opha, and—this kind of surprised me—Ova.

You can't tell a thing about gender of some names; for instance, Minte, Verol, Ocie, Gela, Warry, Tute, Rillis, and Ressie. My guess is that Augha and Jayma are feminine and maybe Ardell, too. And you can't tell from the printed page how much you may be missing in variants of pronunciation. On the first day of school, one of my high school teachers called on a boy named Guy. He kept looking out the window until her hand on his shoulder brought his face around and we discovered that he was not being stubborn or even especially dreamy. He simply said that his family pronounced it "Gooey."

This reminder of the ingenuity and resistance to uniformity of my fellow Ozarkians is certainly heartening. Next time anyone complains that American culture is becoming homogenized I know where to send him.

—MARTHA LOU STOHLMAN.

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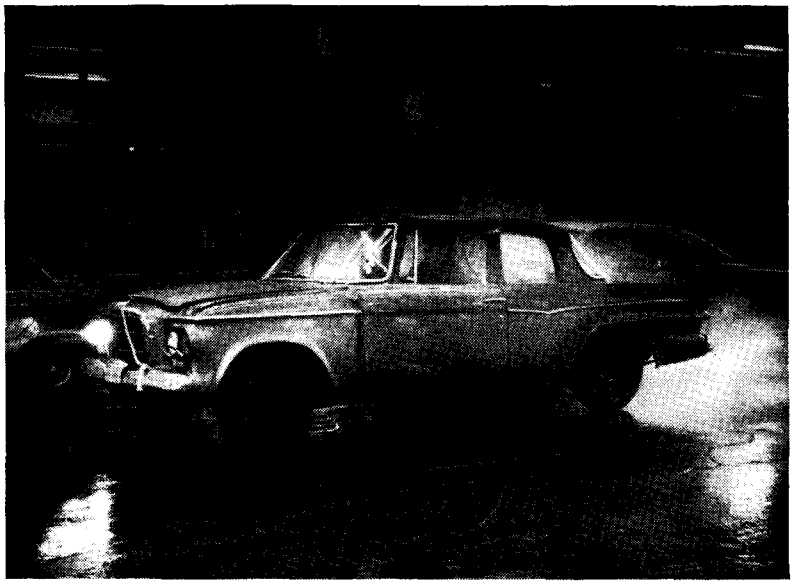
The Clunker



Fully-equipped with polluting exhaust, gripless brakes, treadless tires, faulty lights. Price? Maybe your life.

The clunker comes in all makes and all colors. Some are oil-burners, engine-knockers, or wrecks, like the one above. These are easiest to spot. And avoid.

But they are not the most dangerous clunkers. The most dangerous ones look quite normal. When you find out about the faulty brakes, or lights or tires... it's usually too late.

If you're lucky, you live to tell about it.

But many innocent victims don't. The clunker can kill.

Allstate, for one, is working now to get the clunker off the road. To do it, many states need to pass tough laws, as recommended by the National Highway Safety Bureau. Laws that require every car to be inspected regularly. That demand every car have lights that light, brakes that brake, horns that blow. And more.

Your help is needed. To learn the simple but effective things you can do to help get the needed laws, write the Safety Director, Allstate Insurance Company, Northbrook, Illinois 60062. He'll send you a copy of the new booklet, "Let's make driving a good thing again."

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"I LIKE HELPING PEOPLE TALK TO EACH OTHER..."

That's the way Lola Spangler feels about her job.

Lola works at Western Electric's plant in Allentown, Pa., where many kinds of Bell System electronic equipment are made.

"My job is testing integrated circuits. There are about 700 on each wafer about the size of a half dollar, and I have to test each one."

Because complete circuits are less than one hundredth of a square inch, she does her work through a microscope. It's demanding work, but it's rewarding.

"All these little circuits are used in the telephone or in some other part of the Bell System. So you see they all help people talk to each other.

"And just knowing all of that," says Lola, "may be just about the nicest part of working for Western Electric."

It certainly is a very rewarding part of being Western Electric. The people who make Bell telephones and the communications equipment of the future.

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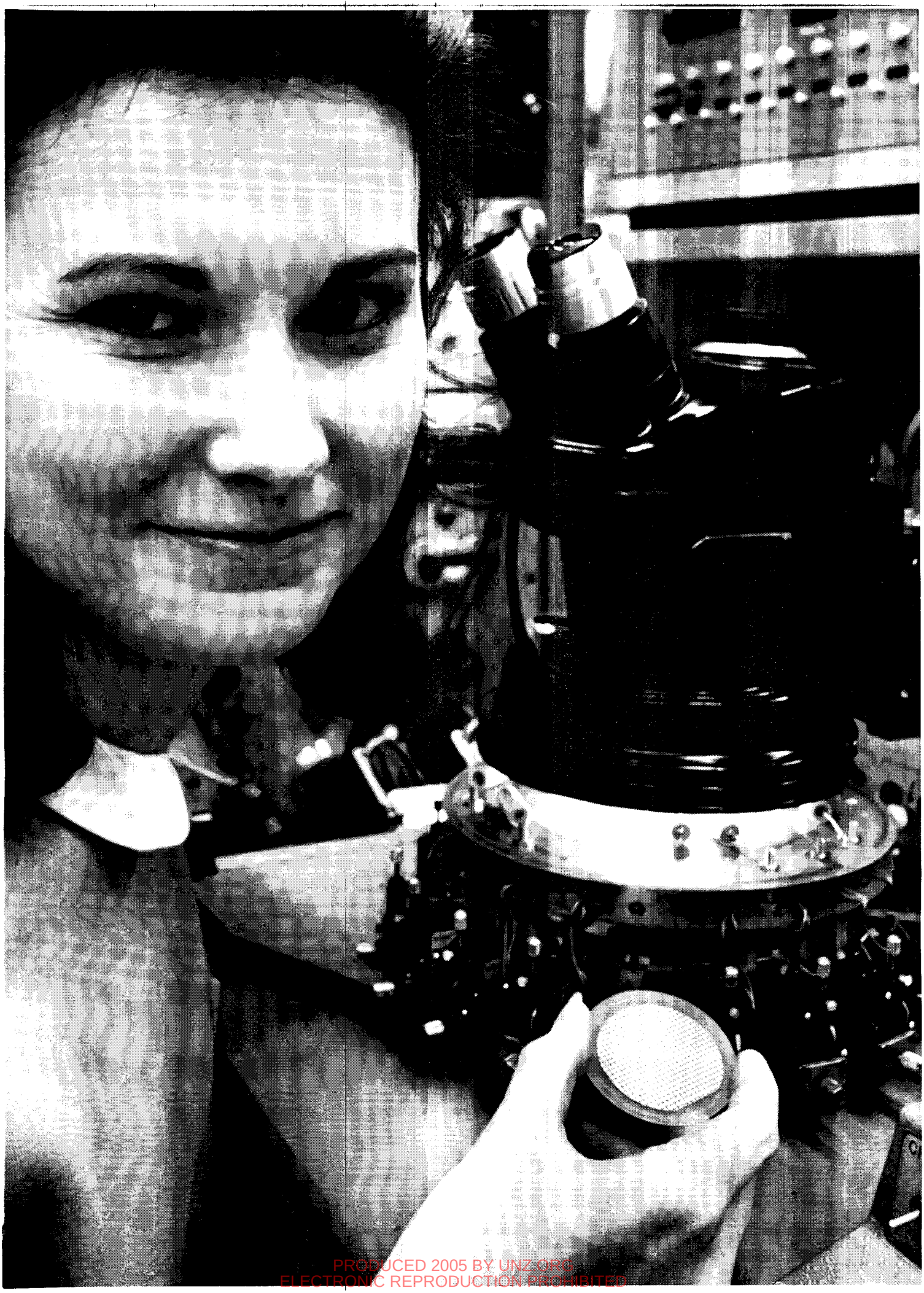

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Top of My Head

Goodman Ace

Advice to the Laughlorn

I ASKED the average, attractive, young lady, who is shopping for a husband, what she expects her man-to-be to be.

"Well," she said, "first and most important of all, he must have a good sense of humor." Or to quote her more directly, "A good sensa humor."

"That's a good start," I conceded. "But tell me, average, young, attractive lady, what are the other qualifications you fondly seek?"

"I fondly seek," she replied, "a man who will be compatible, gentle, compassionate, chivalrous, magnanimous, thoughtful, considerate, kindly, and well off."

I tried to plumb the depth of each of these high expectations, but she side-stepped the plumbing, and said only, "He will understand what I mean after we're married."

However, I did manage to fathom her definitions of all these prerequisites:

Compatible: easy to mold.

Gentle: to her mother.

Compassionate: no children for three years.

Chivalrous: he must say "Good morning" to the housemaid and to the cook she plans to hire.

Magnanimous: separate credit cards.

Thoughtful: call from his office hourly.

Considerate: never bring unexpected guests to dinner.

Kindly: see *magnanimous, thoughtful,* and *considerate.*

Well off: he is, but he doesn't know it.

All these unspoken "understandings" can get a guy into a heap of trouble. (See North Vietnam.) Unless he has a good sense of humor.

Which brings us to the interesting, albeit unimportant, question: What is a "good" sense of humor? Difficult to define, because humor comes in several levels. What is humorous to one man may be a pain in the neck to another. Or what is humorous to one man may be humorism to another.

What people will laugh at has been a prevailing question in the mass media for many years. Having supplied humor to the comedians of radio and television since "Why does a chicken cross the street?" was a *pièce de résistance,* I have heard thousands of funnymen question the value of thousands of funny lines.

"I understand the joke," they say "but will they laugh at it in Oshkosh?"

"Have you ever been to Oshkosh?" I always inquired.

"Well, no, but—"

"Why don't you pack your Oshkosh bag and go there? You'll discover they're not stupid at all."

Incidentally, Oshkosh was not the only town so honored. They have also said a certain joke would not be understood in Podunk, Wichita, Bayonne, and Tulsa.

I tried several times to get one such bit of humor on the idiot cards for several funnymen to read. They said it would not be understood in any of the above-mentioned towns.

This is the ill-fated joke:

"I see they're putting a clock on the Leaning Tower of Pisa in Italy."

"Why," asks the straight man, "are they putting a clock on the Leaning Tower of Pisa in Italy?"

"Because the Italians feel what's the use of having the inclination if you don't have the time."

None of them gave an intelligible reason for turning it down. But one young comedian gave me an inkling when he mumbled something about "Inclination—it's too big a word—they won't get it." Subsequently, I have used the joke on the lecture circuit and can report they "got it" in towns from New Hampshire to California.

But laughing together at the same joke is not what our young lady on the prowl for a husband with a good sense of humor has in mind. She's projecting a life of wedded bliss with a fellow who will join her in laughing off burnt dinners, bent fenders, and some myth math on the stubs of their joint checking account.

However, this joint laughter through the semi-serious, semi-comic incidentals of everyday life takes time, years, a heap of living together. There is an old fishwife's tale—and I believe in old fishwives, even though they haven't been mentioned in the Lib movement—that man and wife, living together through thirty or forty years of marriage, gradually begin to think alike, to laugh alike, and even to look alike. Except for the hair curlers in the mornings.

So, if our young lady continues looking for a young man at the ready with a risibility tailor-made to hers, she's on the road to a lot of short, broken engagements, and will be kept pretty busy returning engagement rings and shower gifts.

"There are five selfish reasons to join the Metropolitan Museum*

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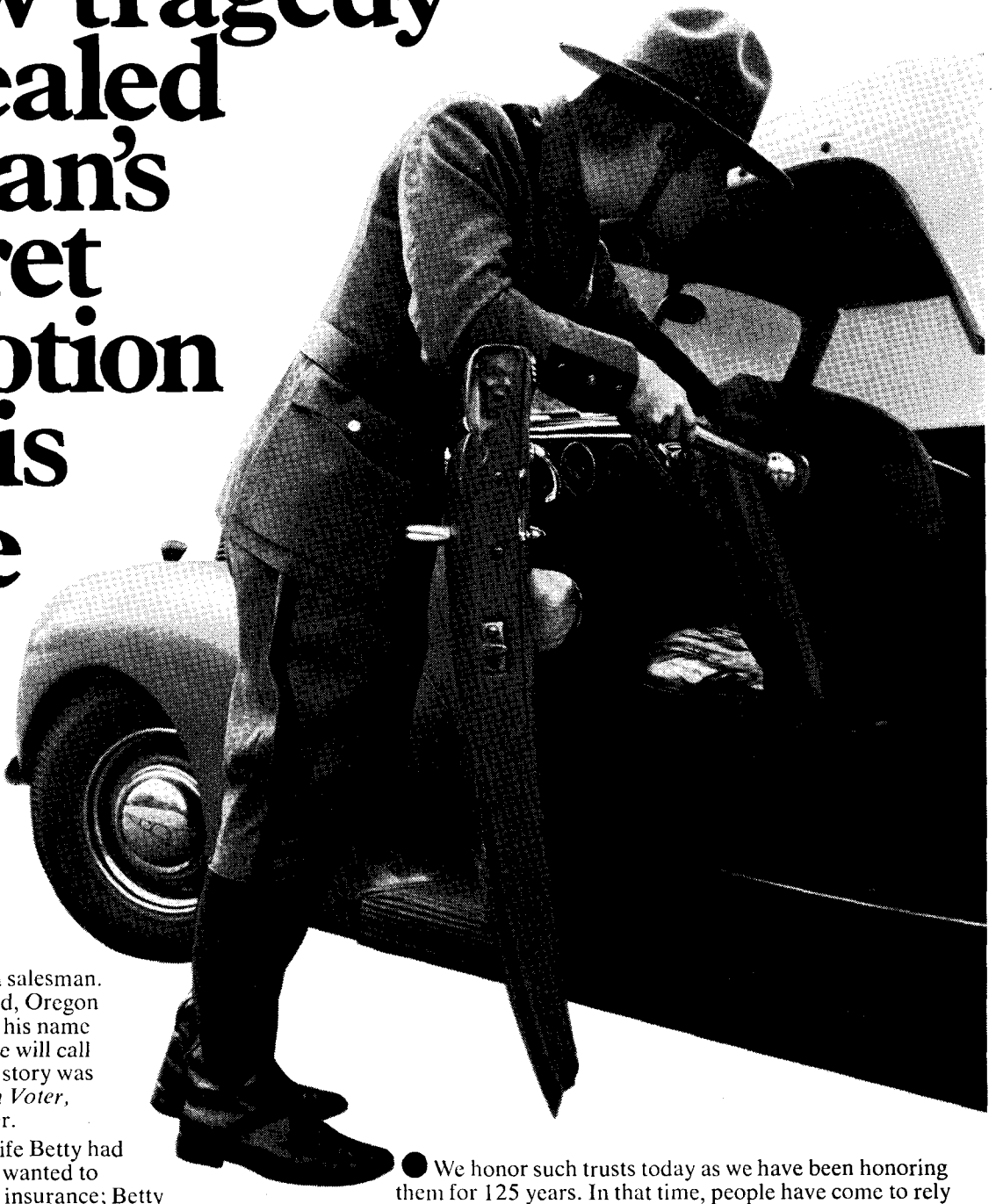

The man was a salesman. He lived in Portland, Oregon in the late 30's and his name was not John, so we will call him John. The full story was told in *The Oregon Voter,* the local newspaper.

John and his wife Betty had been at odds. John wanted to spend more for life insurance; Betty was adamant. The budget was stretched already.

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Manner of Speaking

John Ciardi

The New Left: Why Violence?

THE NEW LEFT IS, of course, the Old Left with a Chinese accent and with a Che Guevara beard. It is, so to speak, the Mao Che Tong. As the bomb squad knows all too well, it is out for violence.

Bombing, of course, is only a tactic, as campus violence was in a time, as I believe, past. One reason for the bombing tactic is that the New Left has not found general support among the young. Bombings can be carried out by a small "affinity group" of zealots. If the time comes when large masses can be incited to violence, the New Left will be in there inciting. Its aim is not any one kind of violence. As opportunity changes, the kind of violence will change. The overall dedication to violence will remain.

Why violence? The question arises editorially after every New Left outrage. It is always asked in anguish and indignation. And I have never known it to be intelligently answered, though the answer lies in dogma so long enshrined in Marxism that only willfulness could obscure it.

Summon back the image of Khrushchev at the United Nations pounding his shoe and shouting, "We will bury you!" As far as I could see, all editorialists and all administration spokesmen took Khrushchev's declaration as an imminent threat of war. It meant nothing of the sort.

As a matter of historic perspective it now appears that Khrushchev lost his job because of what his party took to be an over-reliance on the good will of the American government. A man ousted by his own people for being a dove is not a likely hawk. Nor has war broken out. Some piece, one may suspect, is missing from the puzzle.

The same piece was missing at the Vienna summit meeting between JFK and Khrushchev. If I read correctly Schlesinger's account of that meeting in his Kennedy book, those talks were approached with hopeful good will on both sides, started fruitfully, and broke down on the question of status quo. Both leaders were in favor of a status quo. Neither could seem to understand what the other meant when he used that term, and neither seemed to have among his advisers any man who could resolve the semantic confusion. That confusion may, in fact, be unresolvable. It is, however, identifiable.

When JFK spoke of status quo, he had in mind something like the old European game of balance of power, the basic object of which has been to fix boundaries, to agree that each side settle for so much and no more, and to hope that the resulting settlement would leave power so evenly divided that neither side could reasonably declare war. For JFK status quo meant stasis.

When Khrushchev spoke of status quo, he meant not fixed boundaries but existing evolutionary historical forces uncontainable by space and necessarily expansive in time. For him status quo meant a dynamic.

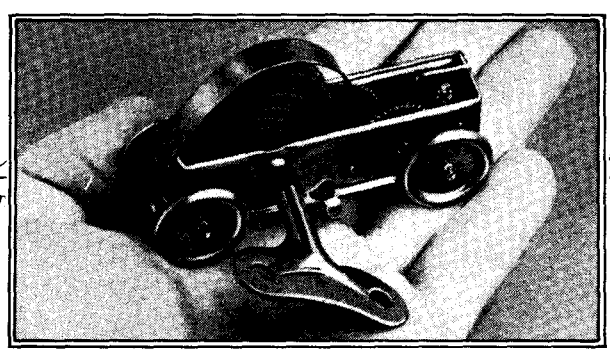
History—so runs the dogma—is a force as inevitable as evolution. As Darwin established the fact of the evolution of species, the exact mechanism of evolution remaining in some doubt, so Marx established the fact of the historic evolution of societies, with the difference that dialectical materialism exactly identified the method of that evolution as an endless prayer-wheel of Hegelian thesis-antithesis-synthesis, each synthesis becoming in turn a new thesis to combine with its antithesis and so to achieve a new synthesis, and so on from left to infinity.

Russian communism—so the dogma continues—is a government shaped to the evolutionary forces of history. Capitalism, on the other hand, has had its day, is no longer adapted to the forces of historical evolution, and is, therefore, in the process of becoming extinct. Such thinking suggests something like a fox-like and not yet ungulate Eohippus standing on a hilltop to watch a thrashing Brontosaurus expire in a drying swamp. In time, Eohippus will become Man O' War and stand in the evolutionary Winner's Circle while the bones of Brontosaurus are mounted in museums as reminders of what happens to non-adaptive giants and to all lesser breeds without the law of dialectical materialism.

It was this faith Khrushchev was declaring at the United Nations. Russia would bury the United States (and all capitalist countries) as Eohippus buried Brontosaurus, not by killing it but by going forward into evolution while the unadapted beast sank into it.

Or perhaps the cave men and the mammoth might offer a better metaphor, for beyond whatever temporary standoffs may seem wise it is impossi-

(*Continued on page* 18)



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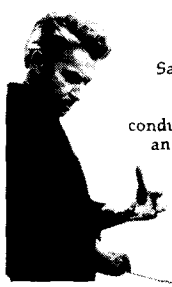

Conductor Herbert von Karajan. The Saturday Review called him the most famous conductor in Europe and "perhaps the finest (conductor) of his generation." Von Karajan, who conducts the first nine symphonies, is equally at home in the great opera houses of the world and on the concert podiums of Europe and America. As a Beethoven interpreter, he inherits the grand tradition of Toscanini, Furtwängler and Bruno Walter.

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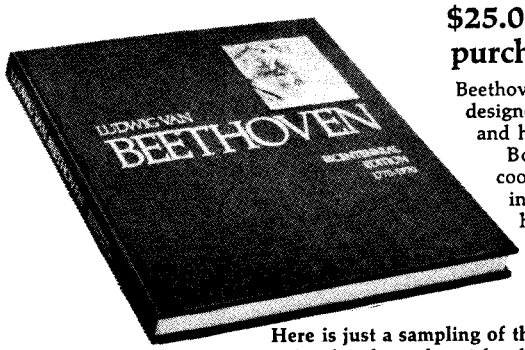

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(*Continued from page* 12)

ble to doubt that the evolutionary dynamic of communism foresees a time at which the cave men move in to kill and eat the weakened mammoth.

This tenet of Soviet faith may, as noted, mark the point at which all East/West views become irreconcilable. Or some genius of statesmanship may yet find a reconciliation short of holocaust. It remains a tragedy, however, that neither K nor JFK—both of them trying with as much good will as we are likely to see—could find a way of reconciling their differences; or, worse, that neither, despite all the expertise available to each, could even identify the point of conflict.

The boys in the New Left have that point of conflict identified. Mao has said it for them. Che has resaid it from Mao. Any editorialist today who wonders what the New Left is up to is in the position of those editorialists of a generation ago who could not understand what Hitler was up to even after he drew a blueprint of his intentions in *Mein Kampf.*

The Mao Che Tong stands beside a Chinese Khrushchev in that second metaphor of the cave men and the dying mammoth. For them the beast is doomed but not dead. It is still dangerous, if only for a while, and any violence that can be inflicted upon it will serve evolution by bringing the beast the sooner to steaks and chops around the campfires of its evolutionary inheritors.

The zealot, of course, is capable of finding violence exciting for its own sake. By and large, however, he is not a thrill-seeker; he is too self-sanctified for the frivolities of pleasure. The New Left is as ruthlessly righteous as the Far Right. Such men are dangerous. And they are wrong.

They are wrong, above all, because they do not understand the residual strength of Jeffersonian Americanism. Like Hitler and Stalin they think of such ideals as tolerance and impartial justice as weaknesses. They have yet to learn that indoctrination is not enough. In World War II, the Nazis and the Japanese fielded two of the most thoroughly indoctrinated military machines known to history. In the long run, the victory went to the dirty, sad-sacking, grousing, half-disciplined GI—and, of course, to his inexhaustible line of supply. Conceivably, on some dark day, the supply line may break down, and conceivably the zealots may turn out to be winners. But not soon and not foreseeably. There is still an easy largeness available to the American spirit. Add clarity to it and that largeness will yet swallow the small, the super-righteous, and the violent.

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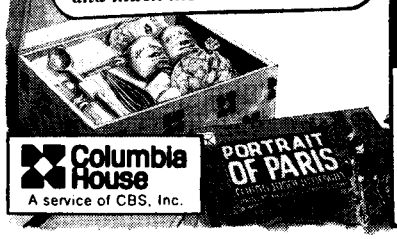

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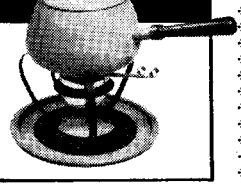

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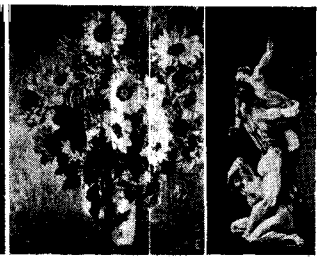

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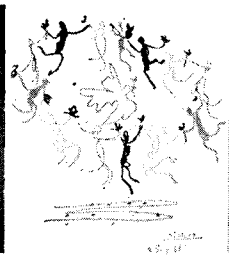

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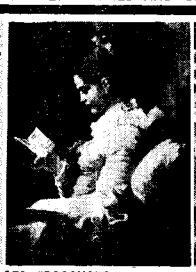

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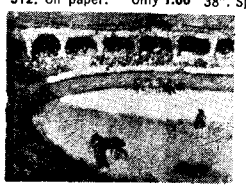

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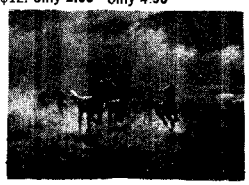

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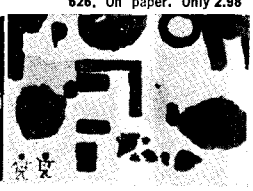

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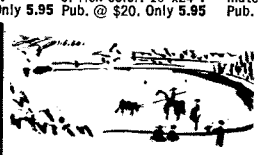

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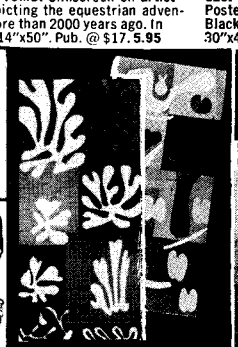

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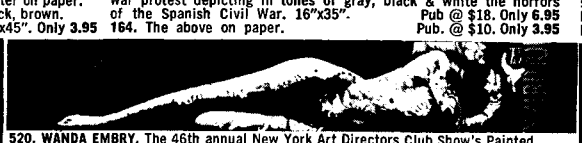

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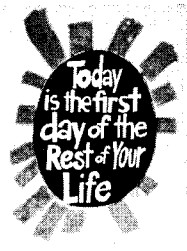

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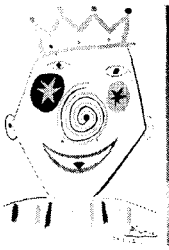
234. EL GRECO. VIEW OF TOLEDO. Lithograph on **artist canvas.** Stormy blues & greens. Fabled Spanish city. 20"x22". Pub. @ $35. Only **9.95**



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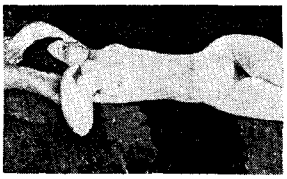

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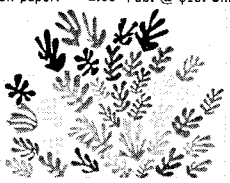

369. MATISSE. THE LEAVES. Silkscreen on **artist canvas.** Bright blue green brown red orange & black. 24"x30". Pub. @ $18. Only **6.95**

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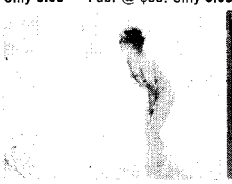

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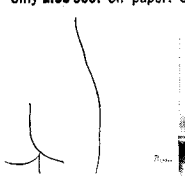

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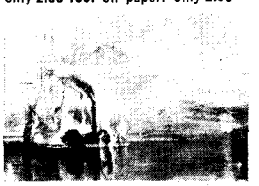

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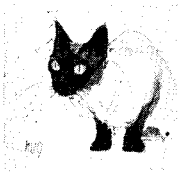

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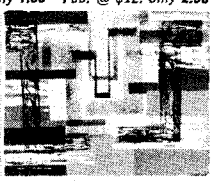

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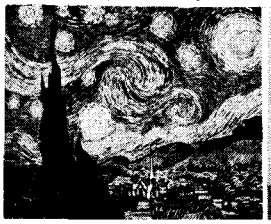

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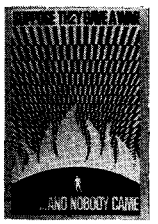

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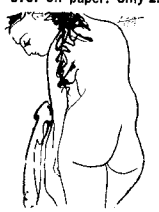

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388. RAPHAEL. STUDY OF DAVID. Lithograph on canvas of Michelangelo's statue. Beige. 17"x32". Only **5.95** **622.** On paper. Only **2.98**

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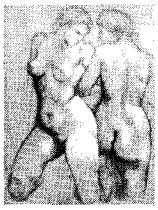

392. MAILLOL. DAY AND NIGHT. Lithograph on **artist canvas.** Beige and grey. 19"x25". Pub. $15. Only **5.95**

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Trade Winds

Cleveland Amory

Our favorite item in a long time came from Richmann Kluender, pastor of the Trinity Lutheran Church in Pleasanton, California. We run it piecemeal from the San Francisco *Examiner*:

> NEW YORK—A lady in a deeply plunging crimson decolletage is lying on a carpet, her hair billowing like smoke from a factory chimney. Her lips are open, her eyes closed. She is caressing the face of a young man in a ruffled shirt, who in turn is grazing gently on her exposed and ample bosom.

As if this weren't ample enough, the dispatch grazed on:

> This is not, as you may suppose, a scene from a Swedish movie shortly to be banned in Boston. . . . In the conservative world of American advertising, it is the biggest sensation since Space and Archer put a woman in bed with a Leasco computer and CBS Television refused to run the commercial unless the woman wore a widding ring. . . .

That may have taken care of the woman, we say, but what about the computer? Got off scot-free, we suppose. Even this wasn't all:

> But the most interesting thing about the White Shoulders ad is that for all its sophistication it is not the work of a big, established advertising firm. It was created by two young people . . . Andrea Dunham, a London gril . . . and Barry Marcus.

Barry, we presume, is a good, sound American buy.

Letter of the Week:

> Dear Mr. Amory,
>
> Since your assumption of the editorship of the column TRADE WINDS, I have found it extremely difficult to continue reading it. Unfortunately, it is not the content which disturbs me, but your usage of the first person plural. Please note that in the December 5, 1970 issue, you finally fell into the grammatical trap of the semi-literate who insists upon referring to himself as "we": "As an Episcopalian, we protest."
>
> True, as the head of the church, Elizabeth II may be permitted the privilege of protesting in the plural. Unless you can legitimately claim a comparable lineage, I would urge you to eschew your syntactic airs.
>
> David Wertham,
> Winnipeg, Manitoba.

We've always felt the editorial "we" was infinitely preferable to today's ever-present "I"; but we, editorially, in contrast to we, royally, are open to your (plurally) vote. If the I's have it, we (I) promise, this is the last you'll see of we from me.

Elsewhere, the author of the blockbuster named *The Rising Sun* (Random House, $12.95) and subtitled "The Decline and Fall of the Japanese Empire, 1936-1945," is a man named John Toland, who happens to be married to a very small, pretty, and un-blockbuster wife named Toshiko. And so, in the true, long-suffering spirit we know our readers have come to depend upon, we managed to bring ourselves to agree to see them both at once. We learned they met in Tokyo, where Toshiko, who was working daytime for the McGraw-Hill World News, was promptly put to work working nighttime for Mr. Toland. "He wanted me to work every night for *free*," she said. "Finally, one night I told him no, I wouldn't. I said I wanted to wash my hair. But he persisted. 'All right,' I said. 'I'll help you for the last time.' "

"How do you say," she asked, "'famous last words'?" We smiled. You did it *perfectly*, we told her. Next, it was Mr. Toland's turn to smile. "Seriously," he said, "I couldn't have written this book without Toshiko. She's not only bilingual—she comes from a very important family, and her father put me onto many important people."

Toland, we learned, was born in La Crosse, Wisconsin, the son of a concert-singing father and a portrait-painting mother. "My father had a tremendous voice but such an awful Irish temper he managed to fight his way out of anything big. My mother's a terrific painter, but she won't sell her things. I have almost all of them."

Toland himself started writing at ten. His father, he told us, had picked up a playwright in church and brought him home: a man named Porter Emerson Browne, who had been Pancho Villa's secretary and had written his most successful play, *The Bad Man*, about Villa. "But he was down and depressed when Dad met him, and he stayed with us two years. He treated me like an adult. He taught me to play cards, and we'd go to movies together. We'd sit through the first half of the movie, and then he'd say, 'Let's go.' And then we'd go outside, sit down, and write our own end. The next night we'd go back, and usually ours was better.

"He also told me being a writer was like being a monk. I could not get married until I'd become successful, and I should not expect to sell any of my first million words.

"Actually," said Toland, who went to Exeter, Williams, and the Yale Drama School, "I didn't sell any of my first *two* million words—a hundred short stories, twenty plays, and four novels.

"In my last three books," he said, "I've had other authors breathing down my neck on every one. On *The Dillinger Days*, Bob Cromie's excellent book on Dillinger preceded me by a month. On *The Last 100 Days*—about the fall of Nazi Germany—Connie Ryan's *The Last Battle* followed me by a month, and on this one, Tom Coffey's book *Imperial Tragedy* came out the same day—December seventh."

Toland grimaced. "He takes the first ten days of the war and the last ten. I take ten years, but we both got reviewed in tandem. Except," he added, "*SR. SR* reviewed me in triplicate. Authors *really* love that."

It was our turn to grimace. "The final thing," he said, "is that Tom's book was also called 'The Rising Sun.' I'd announced mine five years ago, though, and so my editor called his and his agreed to change. I think it shows the decency of publishers."

What, we asked, did he think was the answer to the book business's duplicate game? "Well," he said, "I don't think there is any answer. If I had it to do over again, though, I wouldn't tell anybody anything." He paused. "But then I wouldn't be able to write, either. I work so openly and I ask help from so many people. For example, I'm now working on a biography of Hitler, and everybody, at least in Europe, knows I am."

How many others, we asked, were doing books on Hitler? "Well," he said, "there's an English fellow named David Irving, who I know is, and I'm sure there'll be at least a dozen others. I just hope mine will be the best.

"In this business," he concluded, "I guess you just have to hope that. Otherwise you shouldn't start."

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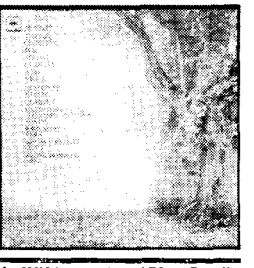

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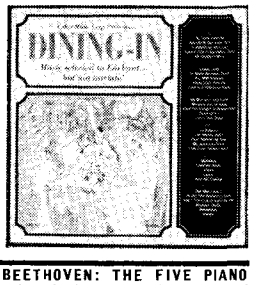

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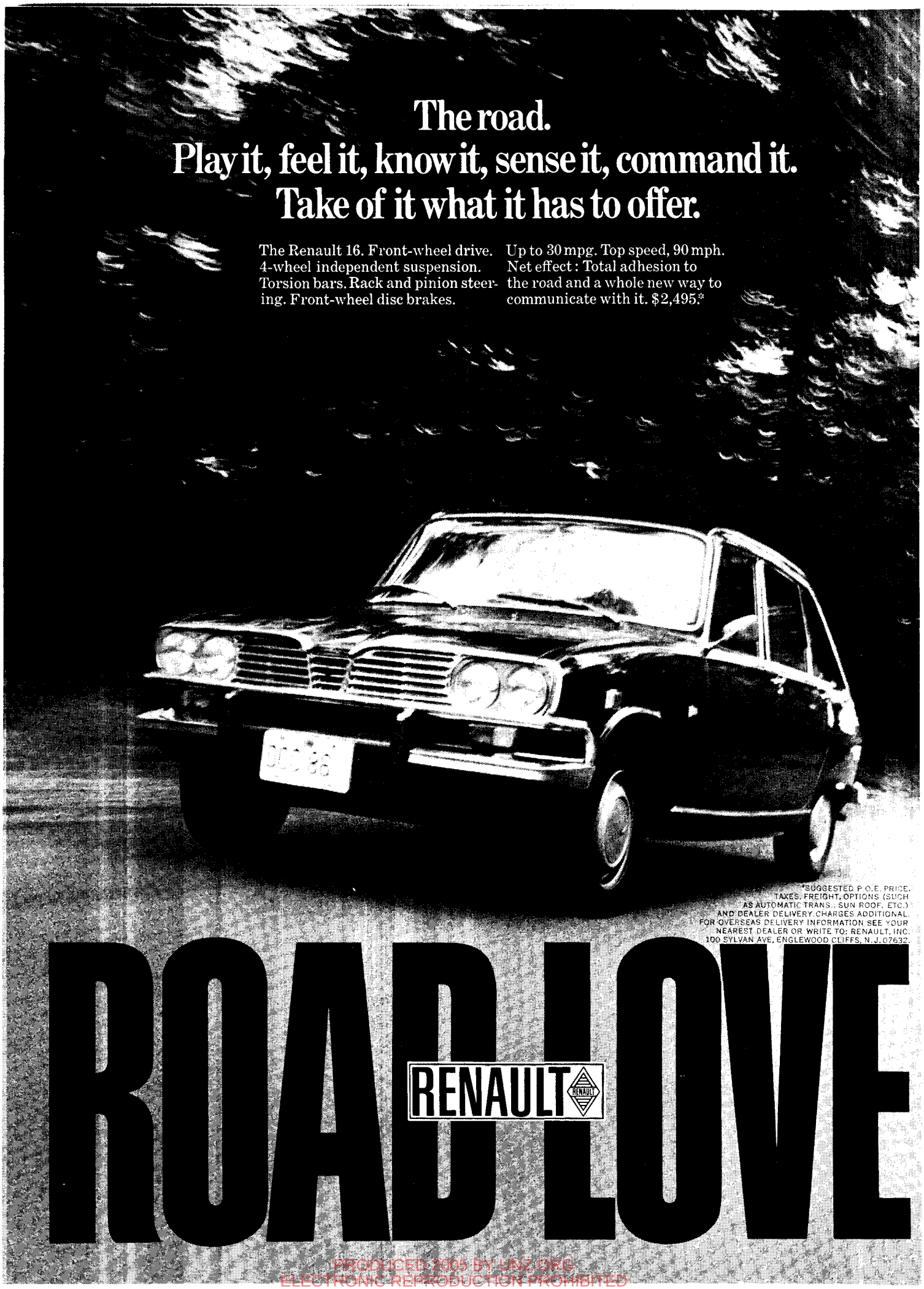
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Saturday Review
January 23, 1971

Reconciling Youth and the Establishment

"There are almost infinite possibilities for cooperation, but initiative and ingenuity and commitment will be required to develop and launch them on a meaningful scale."

by JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER 3RD

More than two years ago I began a brief excursion into the world of the young. While preparing for a speech, I decided to try to find out, to my own satisfaction at least, what the youth revolution was all about. The experience turned out to be rewarding, but by the time I delivered the talk, I knew my excursion had become a journey, one that is still going on with no end in sight. In many ways the problem has become more complex and difficult. Our society appears to be more divided and polarized than before. And yet, my thesis then—and now—is that this need not be so, that we are wasting our best chance for constructive action.

I said in my remarks two years ago that the ferment of youth is potentially a powerful and constructive force in dealing with the problems our society faces. If that is true, then the crucial issue is not the youth revolution but the nature of the older generation's response to it.

I believed then, as I do now, that a basis exists for cooperation between youth and the Establishment. I said in the speech: "A unique opportunity is before us to bring together our age and experience and money and organization with the energy and idealism and social consciousness of the young." Ever since I have been trying to find specific ways to combine the resources of young and old. I have discussed this question with many young people—present and former Peace Corps and VISTA volunteers, federal employees, central-city and suburban high school students, leaders of youth organizations, college students, young professionals. I also have talked with members of the Establishment—businessmen, lawyers, government officials, university professors.

An idea quickly emerged that offered promise of fulfilling the need with one major stroke: a "national service" program, launched and sponsored by the federal government, in which young men and women would devote one to two years in non-military service to their country. In recent years this basic concept has been advanced by a number of national leaders. Although the proposed plans vary in details, the central theme is the same: a large-scale program to employ the restless energies of young people in areas where subprofessional manpower is needed, such as environment, tutoring, and delivery of health services.

In many ways, this approach has great appeal, but I concluded that it is not the answer. Cost and implementation obviously would present formidable challenges. But there is a more fundamental difficulty. A formal national service program, organized and funded by the federal government, is not in tune with the mood and temper of youth today. Most concerned young people do not want to be cogs in a national program. By and large, they are very skeptical about working for the federal government. They much prefer a loose and free form of organization that can move flexibly to targets of opportunity at local and regional levels. And they want to have some influence over any activity to which they make a commitment.

Many young people desire action that is directed toward basic social change, recognizing that change is essential if we are to cope with society's problems. They are not so concerned that government programs cannot generate social innovation, but that these efforts are often indirect, slow-moving, and bureaucratic. Moreover, government's attempts to initiate change are always politically sensitive, all the more so when the young are involved. The former Peace Corps and VISTA volunteers I talked with agreed that

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JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER 3RD is chairman of the Rockefeller Foundation. This article is a further development of "In Defense of Young Revolutionaries," published in *SR* [Dec. 14, 1968], and is adapted from a talk at Hampshire College last month.

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on balance their service had been worthwhile. They also agreed that as long as the volunteer engaged in straightforward service activities, everything was fine. But if he pressed for social change, he became controversial and therefore a threat.

It is of course disappointing to come across what appears to be a grand solution to a major need and find out that it is no solution at all. While I favor increased government support for programs involving the young, it must be recognized that such efforts inevitably will be mainly in service and training areas rather than in those involving social change. If young people are to work directly on the massive problems confronting our society and if fundamental social change is to be possible where necessary, then I believe it will be the private sector that will have to develop and support the required programs. Is it realistic to envision this happening on a big enough scale to be significant?

One essential condition is youth's readiness to participate. I believe the evidence of the past two years illustrates that young people continue to be actively involved—in political action, in pressing for institutional reform, in scores of new organizations dealing with the environment and other issues. The scale of this involvement justifies saying that the beginnings of a national service program do exist in this country, scattered and sporadic to be sure, but an effort that goes from the bottom up rather than from the top down. It consists of tens of thousands of individual and group efforts by young people all over this nation.

This involvement is all the more impressive because it is voluntary. The young have other options, but they act out of genuine conviction. Far from being some radical frenzy, this commitment is in the best American tradition of private initiative and voluntary action.

At the same time, however, violence and militancy have also increased. A sense of perspective on this issue is badly needed. Every activist movement will contain its destructive elements, and so it is with the young. The small fringe that throws rocks and manufactures bombs receives attention out of proportion to its numbers. The great majority wants to improve this society, to solve the problems we have lived with too long, to help build a decent and just life for all. The chief danger is that these responsible young people will become frustrated through lack of success in their efforts.

The fundamental issue still is the relative lack of response by the Establishment to the constructive potential of the young. We may have a national service effort in this country in terms of the motivation and energy and commitment of tens of thousands of young people. But we do not have it in terms of organization and money and expertise. This is what the Establishment could supply. However, it has not done so to any significant degree. In the past two years, I have not seen a response by the Establishment comparable to the buildup of projects and activities on the part of the young.

Thus we play into the hands of the extremists by frustrating the efforts of the large number of dedicated and positive young people who want to be constructive. By our failure to respond positively to youthful activism, we are throwing away what is potentially our best asset for needed social change; indeed, we may well be converting it from an opportunity to a major problem.

And so we arrive at the underlying questions: Is it possible for youth and the Establishment to come together, to break through the misunderstandings, the anger and hostility, which now divide them? What are the obstacles to cooperation, and can they be overcome? How would both groups react to specific projects in which they work together?

Answers are beginning to emerge from the work and research of a small task force that I have sponsored. The approach was first to develop a number of specific ideas for joint action by young people and Establishment members, and then to test the more promising in a scientific survey of both groups. The survey also was designed to diagnose the mood and temper of the two groups on a wider range of issues and to try to find out what they think of each other.

In the course of the research, 872 students and 408 Establishment leaders (mainly business executives) were interviewed. If these interviews could be summarized in one sentence, it would be this: While there are formidable obstacles to be faced—and they should not be underestimated for a moment—there does exist a solid basis for cooperative effort between young people and the Establishment. Cooperation is wanted by both groups. Both believe that it is urgently needed.

There is substantial agreement among college students and business executives on the issues that must be dealt with on a collaborative basis: poverty, racism, pollution, overpopulation, drug addiction. Ending the Vietnam War remains a vital concern for the students, but when asked about problems to which they will devote their personal time, they rank the war fourth, behind poverty, pollution, and racism. This seems to indi-

"In a moment, I will pronounce you man and wife, but first, I want to thank you for not regarding marriage as obsolete."

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cate a pragmatic shift that can be summed up in a comment by one respondent: "Let's stop talking and start doing."

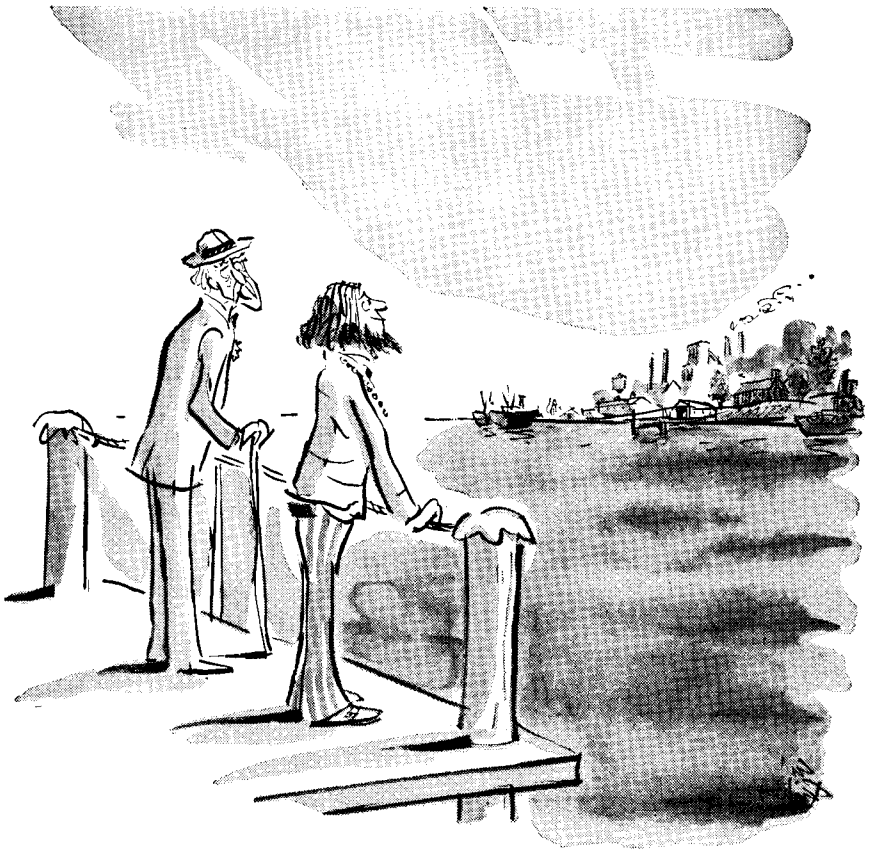
Furthermore, the two groups expressed a willingness to work with each other. In spite of their misgivings, young people are ready to give cooperation a try. By an almost 3-to-1 margin, they say they would rather work with the Establishment in coping with social issues than with protest groups. At the same time, there is a very strong and frustrated wish on the part of business leaders to establish dialogue with the young. Three out of four want active cooperation. Their prevailing view is summed up by the comments of one businessman:

> Whatever the causes of the rebellion, we had better get together with these young people, for the issues they are raising are our issues, the problems facing us as a nation. We need their ideas; we need their help. They are frustrated; we are frustrated. They are angry; we are angry. Neither generation can afford merely anger or frustration. Instead we must work together.

Among businessmen there is less backlash against students than is the case in the general population. The accent is not on writing off or further isolating the college rebels, but rather on talking and working together. For their part, the great majority of students surveyed believe that the American system is flexible enough to allow them to solve problems and overcome flaws without resort to radical change. They overwhelmingly prefer reason to violence.

Most encouraging is the fact that both the students and businessmen endorse all four of the sample project ideas in the survey. One of them deals with a number of ways to encourage and support the involvement of the young in the political life of this country. Another has to do with setting up public interest study and action groups in the Ralph Nader manner, but at the local level. A third, called "Dialogue Week," is a method of bringing young people and business executives together for a substantial period of time. This would be done in a setting designed to help stimulate genuine communication and the planning of an ongoing project.

Ranked highest by both students and businessmen is the fourth project idea, which calls for a two-year environmental program in a major river valley. It would involve creating a student corporation, based in a consortium of universities in the area. The students would draw on faculty expertise as needed and work to enlist the know-how and support of the Establishment in the area, especially business and civic leaders.



—Ed Fisher

"No, young man, I'm not waiting for the Transfinite Oneness; I'm waiting for the 'Robert E. Lee'!"

So much for the encouraging factors. As I have already indicated, the survey also highlights many formidable obstacles to cooperation. They involve a strange and difficult combination of problems, ranging all the way from the rational and practical to the emotional.

One major factor is the continuing frustration of students over the Vietnam War. Another is the growing number of students who now make a radical diagnosis of society. Between young people and the Establishment generally, there is a mutual display of surface anger and hostility and a deeper kind of mistrust. The students do not trust businessmen to stay with any project in which business interests become affected. The percentage of student activists who regard businessmen as overly concerned with profits as against social responsibility has increased sharply in just one year. For their part, the businessmen are wary of student immaturity and radicalism, and few see any reason why they should subject themselves to harangues and abuse.

There also are the new values held by a great many young people that often conflict with those held by most businessmen. These students do not doubt their ability to make a living, to be successful in the conventional sense if they so choose. Taking these benefits for granted, they discount them and emphasize the importance of the individual, the desirability of social change, the search for meaningful personal relationships and work. They question authority on almost every count and hold up virtually every institution of our society for re-examination. For the most part, they find them wanting.

Another barrier to cooperation is a growing feeling of isolation and alienation on the part of many students as they react to the public's anger with campus unrest. The students are drawing back and intensifying their identification with other minority groups that are seen as fellow victims.

These are the obstacles that have tended to immobilize the situation, to dampen initiatives between two groups for whom mechanisms for coming together do not normally exist in our society. Ironically, they can be surmounted only by coming together, by working in contact with one another, in genuine dialogue.

The forces operating in favor of collaboration between youth and the Establishment and the obstructions

(*Continued on page* 92)

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Harrison Smith—"an ebullient spirit."

Harrison Smith (1888-1971)

The editors and staff of *SR* mourn the passing of Harrison Smith, the magazine's former publisher and associate editor, who died on January 8 at the age of eighty-two, after a long illness.

Oliver Harrison ("Hal") Smith was a notable figure on the American publishing scene, and—from 1938 onward—a prime force in shaping *SR*'s destinies.

Above all, Hal Smith was enormously open-hearted, open-minded, and an excellent judge of good, new writing. These qualities were already in happy evidence when, fresh out of Yale (Class of 1911), he plunged into publishing and quickly became successful as an editor, book reviewer, publishing-house editor, and (briefly) as a newspaper correspondent in Moscow during the Russian Revolution. Eventually, he set up his own publishing firms, Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith, Inc., and Harrison Smith and Robert Haas, Inc. In 1938, he became publisher of *SR*, and another major phase of his career was under way.

Hal Smith's great value to *SR* was not his business expertise—unlike most publishers, he knew little enough of billing, rate structures, and the problems of hypoing circulation. Rather, his main, luminous gift was his ability to smell out good writing and to bring young writers along. He had worked closely with William Faulkner and Sinclair Lewis when they were fledgling authors, and, as the young writers' friend-in-residence at *SR*, he insisted that we give prominent exposure to promising new authors.

Meanwhile, Hal was enriching *SR*'s editorial mix with his own lively book reviews, literary essays, and opinion pieces. Decades before the present Women's Lib ferment, Hal Smith was shaking up readers by writing editorials upholding the right of women to "a sure place in society" in a world "mismanaged by men." In a typical editorial, "Woman, the Scapegoat," written in 1947, Smith attacked various then-fashionable notions of female inferiority, and called for a new assertion of feminist ideals.

Throughout his years at *SR* and before his retirement fifteen years ago, Hal Smith was always an ebullient spirit and congenial presence in our offices. "I am," he said wryly, "the office optimist." Although he believed thinking men should confront postwar realities, he saw no need for a mood of doom and gloom. "The United States has never been a country of despair," he wrote, and he always shook his head over authors who were obsessed with "the sins of American society" and who "produced an aggressively negative literature."

Away from the office, Hal Smith was a sailing buff. His literary cronies, who often went along on his voyages, included Sinclair "Red" Lewis, who was an old Yale chum. In his autobiographical volume *Present Tense*, N.C. recalls the time when Hal and Red decided, on the spur of the moment, to go up to Yale and present the university with the scroll emblematic of Lewis's Nobel Prize for Literature. They put the scroll in a brown paper bag, got on the train, and after a convivial, bibulous coach-car ride up to New Haven made their way to the Yale Library.

"It was a football Saturday," Smith recalled, "and the library was practically empty. . . . I called over one of the clerks and told him that the gentleman with me was Sinclair Lewis, who wanted to give Yale University his Nobel Prize. . . . 'I am sorry, sir,' the young man said, 'but I am not authorized to accept any prizes.'"

Lewis and Smith protested, but the clerk stood firm. And when they tried to get through to the president of Yale, they were told that he was at the football game. "That was when Red really blew his top. He said he didn't propose to spend the entire day trying to unload a Nobel Prize on anyone. He tossed the brown paper bag to the young man, grabbed my arm, and stormed out."

Harrison Smith's long life was full of remarkable little adventures of this kind, and his passing is no doubt causing dozens of "Hal Smith anecdotes" to be recalled fondly by the hundreds of friends who have green memories of him. It remains for those of us at *SR* who knew him to say that his passing is deeply felt at the magazine, in the world of belles lettres—and among young writers everywhere whose cause Harrison Smith espoused so stoutly.

—The Editors.

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See Everything, Do Everything, Feel Nothing

On one of the busiest thoroughfares in the United States—New York City's 42nd Street—the final step beyond total nudity in entertainment has now been taken. For the price of a movie ticket, customers can see in full color and on a large screen all the sexual variations of which human anatomy and ingenuity are capable. For those who feel the screen offerings are too pallid, any number of halls or auditoriums on the same street offer live performances. Reports from other cities indicate that New York is far from being unique in providing this form of entertainment.

Defenders of the new trend argue that questions of morality are relative and that any adult should be allowed to see or do whatever his curiosity or needs demand. They contend there is no evidence to show that sex exhibitions are dangerously provocative or that they lead to random and irresponsible sexual behavior.

This misses the point. It is possible to oppose censorship but still be severely critical of sex exhibitions—not because they lead to promiscuity or irresponsibility but because they lead to desensitization. The problem is not that they arouse lust but that they tend to produce impotence. By detaching sex from love, they separate sex from its basic sustaining power. In making sex mechanical, they contribute to the malfunctioning of the machine. By annihilating privacy, they rob sex of delight. Feelings are not merely bypassed; they are obliterated. The danger is not that the exploitation of sex may create sex fiends, but that it may spawn eunuchs. What is even worse, an infallible formula has apparently been found for making sex boring. People who insist on seeing everything and doing anything run the risk of feeling nothing.

It is a serious error to suppose that the depersonalization of sex is unrelated to other things that are happening to the society. The propensity for violence, whether between individuals or nations; the decline of respect for life, whether as manifested by children's games and playthings or the foreign policies and weapons of government; the casualness toward human hurt, as glamorized on twenty million television screens or as demonstrated at Mylai and in the search-and-destroy military policy in Vietnam; the craving for heightened experience, whether through pills or shots or smoke—all these are symptomatic of desensitization. What is most damaging of all is that the process itself obscures what is happening, so that our highest responses are being blunted without our knowing it.

It is easy enough to be appalled by the reports of young Americans machine-gunning infants and other noncombatants at point-blank range in Vietnam; but where is our indignation over the authorized dropping of powerful explosives from the air on villages—or is it proper to kill babies so long as you don't see their faces? And what about the use of poison chemicals to condemn the land?

The highest expression of civilization is not its art but the supreme tenderness that people are strong enough to feel and show toward one another. Art proceeds out of an exquisite awareness of life. The creative spirit and the compassionate spirit are not things apart but kindred manifestations of response to life. If our civilization is breaking down, as it appears to be, it is not because we lack the brainpower to meet its demands but because our feelings are being dulled.

What our society needs is a massive and pervasive experience in re-sensitization. The first aim of education should not be to prepare young people for careers but to enable them to develop respect for life. Related lessons would be concerned with the reality of human sensitivity and the need to make it ever finer and more responsive; the naturalness of loving and the circumstances that enhance it or enfeeble it; the right to privacy as an essential condition of life; and the need to avoid the callousness that leads to brutalization. Finally, there is the need to endow government with the kind of sensitivity that makes life and all its wondrous possibilities government's most insistent concern. —N. C.

Traveling on Credit

by Daniel Halpern

They would think up trips on Sundays—
Traveling to Lahore via Persia,
Sliding through the Khyber Pass,
Dropping into India like Polo.

The trips began off Fire Island
On a beach day with high red winds,
Swimming nude in South Bay
Together. The residents looked away,

Cared for their gardens which suffered
From the whip of the salt wind
And the Patchogians, who
Came with bayberry sandwiches

To hawk their bodies in the sun
And hurry back on the last
Watch Hill ferry. They lived
In Bayberry and thought up trips

With the marina's population
(A Calcutta of boats)
Looking on from polished wood.
They were, for the most part, in love,

Traveling, Sundays, to Lahore
In three cars with two wolfhounds,
Four Afghans and a setter—
A Packard, a Daimler and a Ford.

They were set on Lahore:
Stops in Izmir and Isfahan,
The long crawl through Persia.
On Sundays, in fine weather,

They set out with a pocketful
Of visas and rolled east, content
With itineraries of sand
And postcards back on the weekend.

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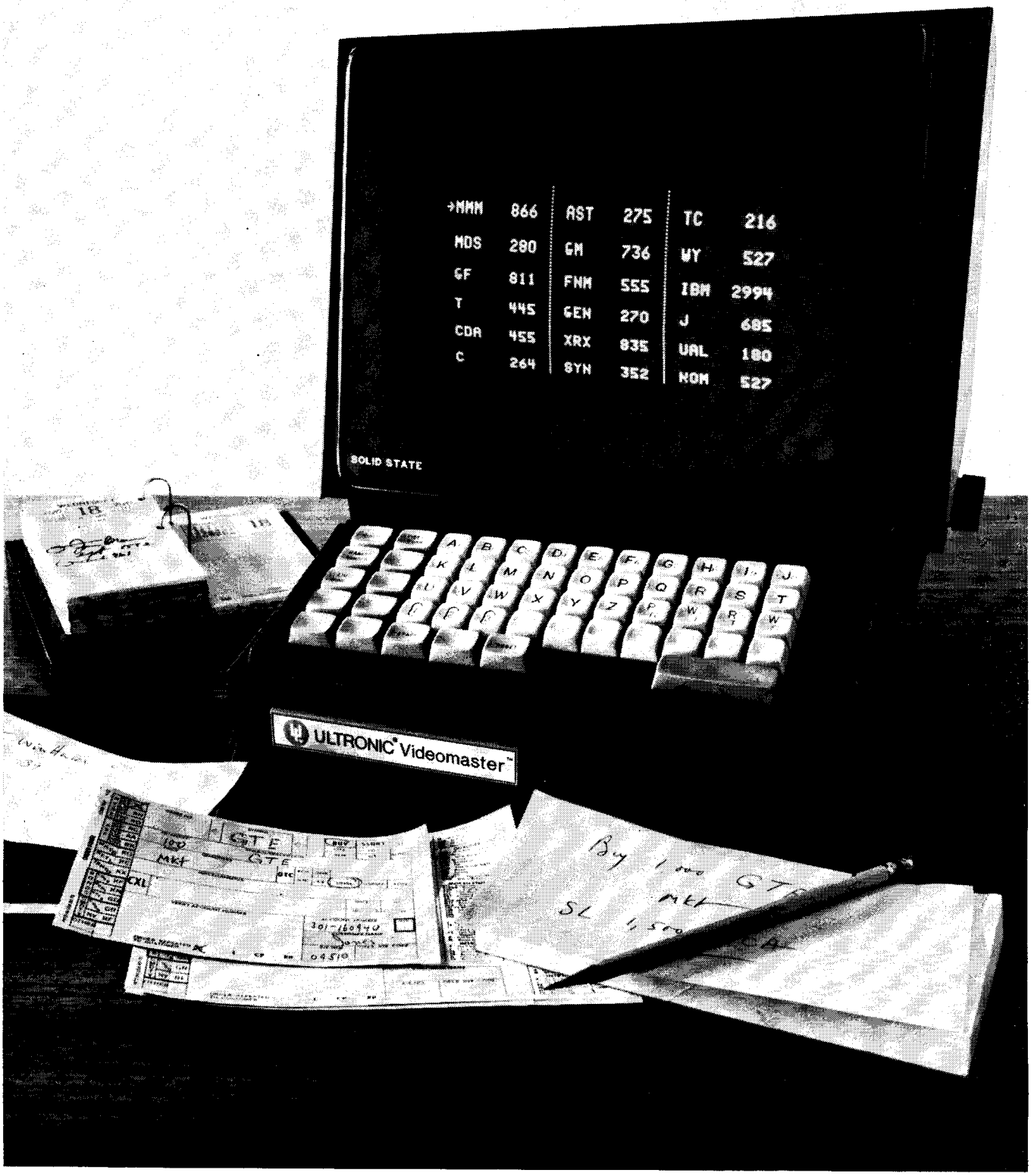

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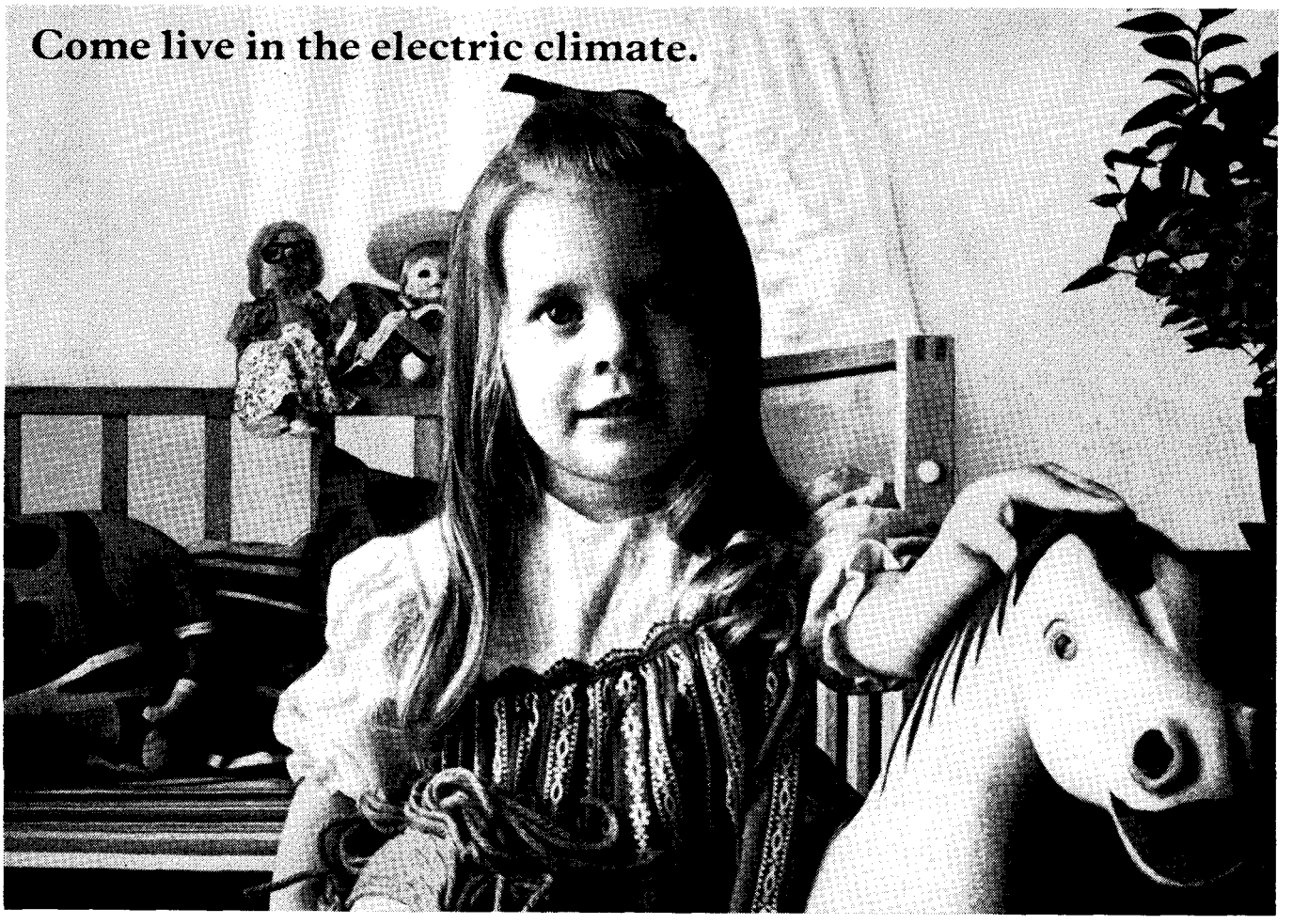

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CAN WE AFFORD TOMORROW?

EXCLUSIVE REPORT AND ANALYSIS PRESENTED WITH THE COMMITTEE FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

For the thirteenth consecutive year, *SR* and the Committee for Economic Development have cooperated to produce a special issue on an important aspect of public policy. This year's subject—"Can We Afford Tomorrow?"—arises out of the increasing public concern over the ordering of national priorities and the allocation of national resources.

CED is composed of 200 leading businessmen and educators, most of whom are board chairmen or presidents of major corporations or presidents of universities. Its purpose is to develop, through a business-academic partnership, proposals for public policy.

The questions examined here are not new to CED. Since World War II, CED trustees have formulated policy recommendations dealing with the state of the economy, problems of the poor and the cities, the management of government, and international trade and development. In all these areas, CED has recognized the need for a set of priorities that can adapt enlightened national goals to stubborn economic realities.

In order to examine these questions from a comprehensive viewpoint, CED held a symposium late last year, from which the material in this section has been drawn. The meeting was testimony to the understanding of business leaders that social concern is enlightened self-interest and that social involvement is an investment in the survival of a free society.

Speakers at the symposium included: J. Irwin Miller, chairman of the board of Cummins Engine Company; Professor Thomas C. Schelling of Harvard University; Jerome M. Rosow, Assistant Secretary of Labor; Professor Carroll L. Wilson of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; John R. Meyer, president of the National Bureau of Economic Research; and John V. Lindsay, Mayor of the City of New York.

—WILLIAM C. STOLK,
Chairman,
Committee for Economic Development.

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CAN WE AFFORD TOMORROW?

Changing Priorities: Hard Choices, New Price Tags

by J. IRWIN MILLER

I do not think any other generation of Americans would have asked the question, "Can we afford tomorrow?" For our predecessors "tomorrow" was the clearing and taming of the wilderness, founding of cities, building of highways and railroads, development of universities, enthusiastic embrace of the industrial age. And it was all pursued with a confidence that we were on the right track and uniquely fitted to succeed. We have now virtually accomplished this first American dream. We have achieved material affluence for the many, broad political participation across the society, education in quantity and for numbers never before attained, and world power that makes us the most formidable nation on the Earth.

However, at the very moment of achievement, we have become surprisingly uncertain. Where we were once the leaders of change and hope for mankind, we are now fearful of change, and the status quo is our security blanket. Is it because we have never had it so good, and fear that change can be only bad? Is it because we don't know where to go next? Is it because the vast majority of our people, having attained the American dream, find themselves no more contented but frustrated, increasingly suspicious, and monstrously irritated at anyone who calls attention to their unease?

"Can we afford the future?" If the future (and I suppose we mean a "good" future) comes to us at no cost, there is no problem and no question. But, if the good future bears a price tag, then we have decisions to make, and our attitudes more than our abilities may determine which choices we make.

Let us consider the price tag and the choices. On the one hand, the American consumer's disposable income continues to rise and to surpass those of all other nations. On the other hand, our nation (and most especially its cities, where 70 per cent of us now live) deteriorates steadily in respect to transportation, personal safety, cleanliness, adequate schools, health care, and effective government. Our country and its cities are growing worse at their present sizes. Yet we now know that, only thirty years from today, we will have 100 million more people and that close to 90 per cent of these will live in cities.

Today, many Americans have a house —pretty much bought and paid for. They can send their kids to college. They have automated kitchens and laundries, two cars, a boat, and a barbecue, and there is not a great deal more in the way of personal *things* that constitute a serious goal. On the other hand, the schools our children attend are overcrowded. We can't get a doctor to make a house call. We can't find a place to park. Our garbage isn't collected. Anywhere we go we run into a traffic jam. And the quality of air we breathe and water we drink is far from ideal.

These things very properly irritate us, and we want them fixed. But we steadily vote down bond issues for schools and hospitals. We revolt against the budgets required for better municipal services, and we are reluctant to fund the vast costs clearly required to clean up today's air and water.

Nor do these matters of *today* even touch what we must do to prepare for the coming hundred million. Even given the best plans man might devise, administered by the most competent groups we can imagine, it is now clear that very large sums of money—larger than we have ever known—must be expended *now*, if we are to have any kind of future, let alone a "good" future. As if this is not alarming enough, we must add spiraling costs: Wages are rising at nearly 10 per cent each year, and construction costs are increasing at better than 1 per cent each month.

If we are to buy this good future, therefore, it is clear that we must do without something. The implication of such a choice is a diminished private standard of living as we channel funds from private consumption into higher taxes and into increased public and private investment for the future. So, like our own young children, we don't want to have to choose. Our private possessions do not of themselves make us happy; our public irritations, tensions, and frustrations are vast. But we cannot bring ourselves to give up some of the former to solve the latter.

Nor is money the only price of the future. Our institutions, designed for another time and other conditions, are now seriously inadequate—even inappropriate to many of the needs they are called to serve. The rapid and continuous remodeling of institutions, public and private, national and local, may be more than we are willing to tackle.

There is also that other corrupter of the American conscience, spirit, and pride—our reluctance to extend the American way of life to all citizens equally, without regard for race, sex, accident of birth or advantage.

The price of the future is a bigger price than we have ever been called upon to pay. In kind it is not unlike the price our ancestors paid to give us as good a nation as we have received. For them, however, times moved more slowly. They had the luxury of responding to problems. We are compelled to *anticipate* problems, for their speed of growth is greatly accelerated and the time available for solution is short. We can of course afford this price. We do not lack the capacity or the substance. The question is: Do we want a good future badly enough to pay for it?

What would a good future be? The first assertion is that for most Americans (and I exclude blacks, Chicanos, white residents of Appalachia and the rural South) material possessions are no longer the prime goal that they were even thirty years ago, and which they have been for most of the human race throughout history. This is true simply because we now have got them. But where do we turn now? Suddenly we have no maps; we are confused, fearful, and threatened. We look for someone to blame. If we are businessmen, we blame the other fellow: government, youth, organized labor, Communists, professors. If we are youth, we blame the corrupt adult Establishment. But there are no villains in this play, no one to blame, only hard choices that we would like not to make.

When we ask what our national priorities should be and how we should allocate our national resources, we are posing questions we have never in

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our history supposed we would have to ask. We never thought Americans would have to choose. For the first time we are beginning to realize we can't have everything. The price of the future, then, will be found in the things we give up in order to gain the things we want. What is the first choice?

If it is true that the material affluence of most Americans is to be found in their private rather than in their public lives, then an improved material public life must include increased transportation, cities rebuilt with satisfactory housing for all, adequate educational and health care facilities, clean air and water (all to new standards of "adequacy"). Such an improved public life demands a shift of present resources away from private consumable goods and into these programs, for we have only thirty years to get ready for another hundred million.

We have been imagining that we can do all this once the Vietnam War is over, but the tab is bigger than any sum we are likely to save. The price of this segment of the future is substantially higher taxes now. Examples include:

- Higher municipal taxes to construct sewage disposal plants that always have extra capacity, that never pollute lakes, rivers, oceans.
- Higher federal taxes to see that road building keeps pace with traffic needs.
- Higher monthly power bills to pay for the cost of eliminating air and water pollution from power plants.
- A shift of automotive research and capital investment away from hotter performance and into cleaner emissions. A higher-priced car that offers to its owner no noticeably improved driving characteristics.

We must accept a diminished private standard of living to make our public life bearable.

So much for the first choice and its price tag. What is the second choice and its price?

Our monumental technical achievements and the efficiency of production upon which they are based have exacted a price from the individual. At the production level we have what is called the "junk job": A high school graduate, paid $4 per hour, pushes one red button, or tightens one type of head bolt, for eight hours, day after day, year on year. On the one hand, he is the recipient of a very high annual income, which raises him into the middle class. On the other hand, his job uses only the smallest part of his intelligence or his education.

The second choice of the future may involve an assertion of the priority of the individual within a mass-production, high-technology society; the creation of a working life for each individual that is genuinely fulfilling, which uses each man's intelligence, education, and skills to their fullest.

—N.C.

The implications of this choice for education, business management, and the social fabric are enormous. A first consideration is that every American baby is entitled to as much genuine education as he can absorb—individually tailored to his needs—available without regard to his color, race, sex, or the affluence of his parents. The realization of an individual's full potential requires nothing less. Are we prepared to pay this price—in terms of providing facilities, more and abler teachers, constantly improved curriculums, rapid institutional change and response—of giving most attention to the most deprived?

A second consideration is that business will have to give priority to job content. In the past we have built factories to be good places for machines to operate. We have automated production lines to cut costs. Is business management prepared financially or emotionally to set as a priority the construction of its factories as good places for people, or automating for the prime purpose of eliminating junk jobs? We are not hung up over air-conditioning the space in which we place our computers. What will be our response toward the spaces in our factories, foundries, and steel mills where individuals spend their working lives? The price of this segment of the future—whether in dollars or habits—is not inconsiderable. Will we decide to afford it?

In all this concern for the individual and his individualism, for quality and fulfillment, there will of necessity be a shift of concern from the tangible to the intangible. Those now least favored will feel that differences of color, race, sex, and possession of money should make no difference in the quality of justice available to them (and quality of justice today is not unconnected with the affluence and position of the person seeking it). They will feel that these same differences should not determine the quality of health care received by the person who needs it, or the adequacy of his diet when his body is being formed and his future health determined. They will feel that our custom of fighting inflation by creating unemployment among those groups economically least well off is no longer supportable. Instead, an equal respect for individuals will require an equal sharing of the burden of such a battle and employment for all who are willing and able to be employed.

A third implication is that in all of society's institutions, public and private, in its social relationships, and in the spirit of man toward man, race, color, religion, or the accident of birth can no longer be permitted to stand in the way of an individual's acceptance, his full achievement, and his self-fulfillment.

It implies an equal interest in the visual environment in which we individually live—a concern that our cities and communities be maintained as beautiful, exciting environments for

(*Continued on page 78*)

"The statement that he who wishes to save his life must lose it was a statement of hard fact and not a pious sermon. A whole nation has never faced up to this fact. It is the price of our future."

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CAN WE AFFORD TOMORROW?

Defense: The Savings of Accommodation

by THOMAS C. SCHELLING

Exactly a decade ago, C. P. Snow, the distinguished scientist-author, made headlines with the prediction that unless the major powers stopped seeking security in nuclear armament, thermonuclear war within the decade was a virtual certainty. "No tomorrow at all" was his prediction for most of us, if we continued. Yet we went on, and here we are facing tomorrow. Hardly anyone makes predictions like that anymore. It's considered odd. We are so concerned about tomorrow's ugliness that we pay little attention to alarmists who threaten worse. Even the peace movement, or that part of it that remains interested in peace, appears to have forgotten the bomb. But is it right to be so forgetful of nuclear dangers?

The experience of the past decade (and of the fifteen years before that) tells us that nuclear weapons do not have to erupt into thermonuclear war. The past ten years have witnessed Cuban missile and Berlin crises, as well as a bitter war conducted over a protracted period next door to a nuclear-arming China. We have seen conflict in the Middle East and a military invasion of Czechoslovakia. But we have done more than just survive another ten years with nuclear weapons. There are signs that the U.S. government is beginning to understand the arms race and to try to get it somewhat under control. There is even tentative evidence that the Soviet government may be willing to cooperate.

The Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) have been in progress for a year. Unlike the debates on "general and complete disarmament" of ten years ago, these talks appear to have arisen from the desire of the United States to avoid the necessity of developing an enormously expensive missile defense system in response to similar efforts by the Soviet Union. It does look as though former President Johnson and former Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara took seriously the idea that an understanding not to compete in ballistic missile defenses could both save a good deal of money and dampen hostilities. When a President and his Secretary of Defense look to arms control as the solution to some of their real budgetary difficulties, we may have moved away from rhetoric and ritual about disarmament to the point of seriousness.

Nothing concrete has come from the talks, and maybe nothing ever will, if what we have in mind is only hard, realistic, explicit, and enforceable agreements. But maybe we should think of a disarmament pact between the United States and the Soviet Union as being something like a NATO agreement in reverse. NATO's purpose is to raise arms and troops; a disarmament treaty might provide for reducing them. But there's nothing in the NATO Treaty about numbers of troops, nuclear or conventional warheads, tactical or strategic forces, ready forces, or reserves. The entire treaty fits on one page. There are no numbers, no explicit provisions for inspection of forces to assure compliance, no mention of what happens when the treaty is "violated." The NATO Treaty is a commitment in principle to a collaborative effort, but the details are negotiated year after year after year. Relations are sometimes bitter among treaty participants, and specific obligations regularly go unfulfilled. Yet NATO has mattered. Maybe an arms treaty with the Soviet Union would be little more concrete than the NATO Treaty but would commit us instead to keep talking and negotiating year after year in the unending process of keeping the arms race under control.

This does not mean we won't ever get arms control. We have arms control now. Most of it is "reciprocated self-control," but maybe that's the most potent kind. Neither the United States nor the Soviet Union has anything like the ballistic-missile defense programs that seemed so inevitable five years ago. Each side seems to recognize that the more the other does the more it will have to do in return. If it should turn out that neither really wants to go ahead with that kind of program unless the other does, that neither wants to become committed to a new generation of offensive weapons unless the other does, that neither wants to double its inventory of offensive weapons unless the other does, and we can learn to recognize and understand this reluctance, maybe we don't need an explicit agreement.

President Nixon's statement on the ABM provides some illustration. In the acrimonious debate on the issue, the President's own position may have got somewhat lost. While introducing us to his "Safeguard" concept, he said that it would be both uneconomic and provocative to engage in large-scale city defenses against ballistic-missile attack. He articulated the notion, developed over a decade of thinking on arms control, that protection of a retaliatory force was non-provocative and could be perceived as such by the Soviet Union. He hinted that the alternative might be an earlier need to build more offensive weapons in an era of increasing vulnerability to surprise attack.

The roof fell in, the debate became polarized in this country, and there are few who noticed that President Nixon's position was, at least if taken at face value, closer to the con's than to the pro's, just as Johnson's and McNamara's had been. Whether the Russians abandoned their program as a unilateral waste, or backed off for fear of American response, they surely restrained themselves. And it didn't take a written agreement.

We have to hope for a much more articulate way of reaching understandings with the Soviet Union, a much more self-conscious dialogue to dampen strategic arms along with occasional explicit agreements that can be abandoned at a moment's notice but that last as long as neither side wants to be the first to break them.

What would we save if we did learn to accommodate ourselves with the Russians? First, there is the possibility of that great war that would make tomorrow irrelevant for many of us. Second, we do save money, but not as much as many think ("strategic" thermonuclear weapons account for only a modest fraction of our defense budget). Third, we would save enormously in the preoccupation that now has to be devoted to the cold war and the arms race. The more we can keep from being obsessed with thermonuclear security, the better we can focus on our other national priorities.

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Human Resources: Retooling Our Manpower

by JEROME M. ROSOW

We enter the 1970s with a manpower program developed during a creative decade. We must now put the management of that effort on a sound basis. Heretofore, we have concentrated our new programs heavily on a single objective: employment assistance for the poor. While sizable, our endeavors are not yet large enough to strike a death blow to poverty, but they are growing. And through the Comprehensive Manpower Act and the Family Assistance Act, they could receive fresh impetus. In the area of poverty, the course has been charted. Our attention needs to focus now on those critical areas where the manpower effort is less well developed, or is not developed at all. Three such areas confront us in the decade ahead:

- The use of manpower policy as an instrument of economic policy. We are not going to have low unemployment without inflation unless we go beyond fiscal and monetary policy and get at the structural weaknesses in the economy.
- Improving the transition from school to work. Here, the nation has to face up to a major revamping of its school system and the way in which youth is launched into the labor market.
- The development of a sensible approach to the use of public employment as an important component of the manpower program, both an immediate opportunity and a challenge.

It is ironic that in the 1960s just when the "new economics" finally became accepted in the United States as a guide to public policy, its limitations also became clear. The promise that the manipulation of fiscal policy, combined with monetary policy, could level out the peaks and valleys of business activity obscured for a while the fact that fiscal and monetary measures could not do the whole job alone.

We have come to realize that the nation is faced with a grim game of trading between inflation and unemployment, for we have not been able to have price stability and low unemployment simultaneously. Our economic talent is too heavily invested in general fiscal and monetary matters. What we need is an understanding of the underlying structure of the economy, and how its functioning can be improved so that the machine does not move sideways one foot for every two it moves forward.

At or near the top of the list of manpower priorities is improving the adaptability of the complex and varied American labor force. If workers do not have the needed skills when demand expands, as it did in 1966, then the skill supply is exhausted long before the actual supply of workers. Wages start to rise as employers bid against each other for scarce skills, and this is translated into higher prices. If too many workers are limited by lack of basic education, they cannot acquire the needed skills, even if management provides adequate training. If the employment exchange system (public and private) is not efficient at matching workers and jobs, or does not participate in a significant portion of hiring transactions, then even available workers will not man the work stations. If workers in chronically surplus labor areas lack information on where jobs are located, if they are without the means to relocate, or are so undereducated that they lack the confidence needed to adjust to a new environment, their mobility will be impeded, and high unemployment rates will inevitably coexist with labor shortages and inflationary pressures. If employers impose unrealistic hiring requirements, or fail to provide upgrading training for jobs that will become vacant in their firms, those employers cut themselves off from their available supply of labor and skills, and limit their productive capability.

All these situations create wage—and thus price—pressures and simultaneously limit production at a time when failure to satisfy high consumer demand means the bidding-up of prices.

When demand turns down as the result of the need to apply the brakes of monetary and fiscal policy, then manpower programs can help cushion the hardship on those losing their jobs. In fact, this could be a major economic role for these programs. By tackling the hardships of unemployment directly through these measures, anti-inflationary monetary and fiscal policies can be given time to work, without a small segment of the population having to carry the burden of the unemployment such policies cause.

The expansion of manpower programs in an economic downturn would use non-productive "downtime" to increase the skills of the work force and contribute to lowering inflationary pressures.

What is called for in the decade ahead is a vigorous and responsive manpower policy. This means we should:

1) Establish a series of built-in economic stabilizers or "trigger" mechanisms that can respond quickly to economic downturns and provide both income transfers and skill upgrading in what would otherwise be a period of idleness.

2) Accelerate labor market technology to bring the public employment system into the computer age.

3) Expand and improve manpower training programs to provide skills and basic education to the disadvantaged, the working poor, the underutilized, and the underemployed.

4) Reform our labor market institutions so that, for example, the Employment Service can forge new links to industry and education and throw off its present blurred image.

5) Apply the art of management so that human-resource utilization becomes as commonplace as capital investment planning.

6) Review our personnel practices in business and government to ensure that we are not pegging our qualifications for jobs above what is actually needed. While we are making progress on school dropout rates, it is still a fact that five million youths with less than a high school education will enter the labor force in this decade.

7) Take responsibility for skill upgrading on the job, instead of avoiding it because the person might leave after he is trained. Somebody must do the training and make the investment. All employers cannot find the skills ready-made in the market and just drive up wages competing for those already possessing them.

Achieving these seven objectives means a substantial expansion in the

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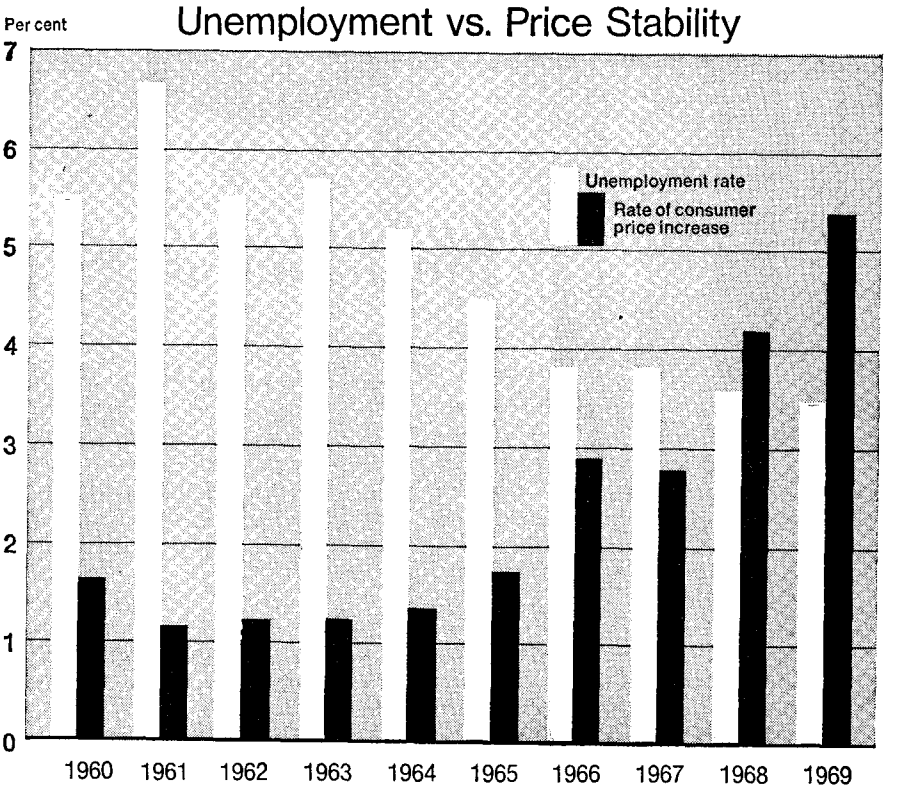

In the first half of the 1960s prices were stable, but unemployment was high. In the second half of the decade we moved toward fuller use of the labor force, but prices also climbed rapidly.

funds spent for manpower purposes, private as well as public. On the government side, our fledgling manpower policy is financed by an amount that is less than 1 per cent of the federal budget—accompanied by limited local funding. An active manpower policy that supports national economic policies requires steady growth of the federal allocation of resources, moving to 2 per cent or even 3 per cent of the federal budget in the next several years. Only with that level of investment can manpower policy have a meaningful effect at the national level. And only through such careful attention to solving manpower problems can we be assured that the labor force of 100 million in 1980 will be efficient and productive.

During the past decade, the nation has been too complacent about youth employment problems. True, some remedial programs were initiated, such as the Neighborhood Youth Corps and the Job Corps. But these programs tried to pick up pieces after the failure occurred. We must get to the roots of the problem and reform our system of youth employment so that new problems are not created.

What was already a high youth unemployment rate when we entered the decade—high by European standards—became worse. I don't think there is wide enough recognition of what has been happening in the youth labor market. When the census was taken in 1930, before the Depression began, the teen-age unemployment rate was about 1.5 times the national rate; by 1969, it was four times as high.

More distressing is the fact that black teen-agers have fared even worse. In 1948, when the white teen-age unemployment rate was 8.9 per cent, the black teen-age rate was 11.2 per cent. By 1969, the black rate was 24.0 per cent, about 2.5 times the white rate of 10.7 per cent. The ratio stands the same today.

We should not exaggerate. It is a fact that a lot of the unemployment is very short-term. Partly, it is growing relative to the adult rate because there is such frequent entry and exit from the labor market as in-school youth take part-time jobs, change them, and also look for full-time jobs during the summer. All this milling-about enlarges the youth unemployment rate, and as more youths stay in school longer there is more entry and exit.

Also, some of the rise in the unemployment ratio can be traced to the post-World War II babies rolling through the labor force as teen-agers in a classic case of supply outstripping demand.

It is not merely a problem of the spell of unemployment. Youth under twenty or twenty-one seem to be confined to youth-type jobs that do not themselves lead toward permanent adult jobs. The youth "job-hops" and typically does not land a more desirable job until he ages sufficiently for the labor market to accept him.

When you combine the movement into and out of the labor force that increasingly exists in the school years, the ins and outs of youth jobs in the long quest for satisfactory employment, and movement of young men into and out of the military, a picture of turmoil emerges in the youth labor market, where the high unemployment rates reflect the chaotic condition of the labor market as much as an overall job shortage.

We give a lot of individual attention to youth in school. If a young person is going on to college, high school is designed to prepare him for college entry. Not so in the case of the non-college-bound. Their courses typically do not equip them with a salable skill. School counselors know much about colleges but little about the labor market. In fact, very little faculty time or curriculum is earmarked for the non-college-bound. They finish school and are dumped on a labor market that doesn't want them because of their age, lack of skills, or inexperience. High school is completed at about eighteen. But the labor market does not open its doors wide until about the age of twenty-one, leaving a gap of three or four years. Employers and youth just don't seem to "put it together" until age twenty-one or so. Of course, the young do get jobs, but they are concentrated heavily in the sublabor market, in industries and occupations that are heavy users of youth labor—the kind of jobs that lead nowhere, pay low, alienate young people, and are abandoned as soon as something better comes along.

A precise accounting for the cost of this system is impossible. But it is reckoned in terms of lost time for youth in getting a toehold on a permanent job with advancement possibilities, in loss of manpower and skill development to the economy as a whole in the three or more years of floundering, in the attitudes of youth toward

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Environment: Preparing for the Crunch

by CARROLL L. WILSON

There was a time in our history when the prevailing value system assigned an overriding priority to the primary effects of applied science and technology: the goods and services produced. We took side effects such as pollution in stride. There now seems to be a shift in values that assigns a much higher priority to the control of the side effects. But when the crunch comes and the implications of remedial action and necessary choices become clear, will we have second thoughts? Will we bog down in confusion and frustration? Or will we hold to our course, insisting that our society make a more thorough and imaginative effort to achieve a much better balance between the production we need and the side effects that we must bring under control?

Last July, a group of fifty scientists and professionals wrestled with some of these questions at Williams College in Williamstown, Massachusetts, where a month-long study was conducted to assess man's impact on the global environment. The project, called the Study of Critical Environmental Problems (SCEP), focused on the need to gather more information about pollution of the planet. Our hope was that this information would improve our understanding of the impact of man's activities on the Earth's resources of air, water, and land: that is, the ecological demand of man's activities.

The study, sponsored by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, explored the climatic effects of increasing carbon dioxide in the atmosphere and of increasing the particle load. It also investigated the atmospheric effects of contamination produced by combustion from supersonic transport aircraft (SST). DDT and other toxic insecticides were studied for their ecological effects, as were mercury and other toxic heavy metals, petroleum in the oceans, and nutrients in estuaries. In each case, we tried to estimate the background level of naturally occurring products, for example carbon dioxide and particles, in order to assess the amount and effect of increments arising from man's activities. We formulated recommendations on measurement, research, and abatement action, where we considered it justified. *Man's Impact on the Global Environment*, a detailed report of the project, has been published by the MIT Press. Its major findings and recommendations can be summarized as follows:

• The concentration of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere is increasing steadily as a result of man's activities. It may be up nearly 20 per cent by the year 2000. This could lead to an increase of global temperature of a half degree centigrade, which is not alarming. But if carbon dioxide concentration doubled, it could raise the global temperature two degrees centigrade, and this could be disturbing: It takes only a two-degree change in the global temperature to initiate the kind of warming of the planet that has been predicted by those who said the icecaps were going to melt, the oceans were going to rise, and we were all going to drown. We didn't find a crisis here, but we thought the consequences of having to change our habits and not generate too much carbon dioxide were so great that we should begin measuring it carefully.

• Man puts large quantities of sulfates, nitrates, and hydrocarbons into the atmosphere that become fine particles, including such special species as urban smog. These particles change the heat balance of the Earth because they both reflect and absorb radiation from the sun and Earth. Large amounts of such particles enter the troposphere (the zone up to 40,000 feet) from natural sources such as sea spray, wind-blown dust, volcanoes, and from the conversion of naturally occurring gases—sulfur dioxide, nitrogen oxides, and hydrocarbons. We don't know enough about the optical properties (reflection vs. absorption) of particles to know whether they produce warming or cooling of the Earth's surface. Therefore, we recommended studies to determine their characteristics, as well as their sources, transport processes, size distributions, and concentrations in the atmosphere.

• As expected, SCEP's findings concerning the SST received the most public attention. We examined the Federal Aviation Administration's estimates of the effects of 500 SSTs being operational in 1985, flying at 65,000 feet for seven hours a day. Such a fleet would consume sixty million tons of fuel a year. SCEP's meteorologists, atmospheric chemists, and other experts considered the duration that the gases and particles produced by jet exhaust remain in the stratosphere—about two years. Then we looked for a yardstick. The only one we could find was the volcanic eruption in Bali in 1963. We thought it might be possible that such a fleet of 500 SSTs could create similar effects and these might disturb the climate significantly, especially in the Northern Hemisphere, the region of highest traffic density. Hence, we recommended that uncertainties about SST contamination and its effects be resolved before large-scale operation of SSTs begins, and that a program to measure and monitor the impact of the SST on the stratosphere be made as soon as possible.

• The ecological effects of DDT were found to be globally distributed. Pest control in crops generally requires continued and increased use of different and stronger pesticides. This is the result of a complex ecological system in which a reduction of one pest and of several predators (innocuous to man) allows new pests to become dominant. DDT also can have specific effects on species other than pests. For example, the eggshells of many birds are becoming thinner, reducing hatching success, and in several species these effects now seriously threaten reproductive capabilities. In an ecological system, damage to these predators tends to create a situation in which pest outbreaks are likely to occur. SCEP recommended a drastic reduction of the use of DDT as soon as possible and urged that subsidies be furnished to developing countries to enable them to use non-persistent but more expensive pesticides and other pest control techniques. We also proposed a greatly expanded effort in research and development of integrated pest control, combining

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minimum use of pesticides with maximum use of biological control, and greatly increased financial support for that effort.

• As to the amount of oil in the oceans, we guessed that it might be two to five million tons. This is a very small percentage of the amount that is carried by tanker, but in absolute amounts it is large. We don't know where it goes; we don't know what it does. But we do know that in the few cases where spills have been closely monitored the effect on bottom life has been severe. SCEP recommended a much greater study of oil spills. We also urged that the load-on-top procedure of tankers be used universally—a move recently supported by the U.S. Secretary of Transportation. An estimated 80 per cent of the tanker fleet that now practices this method dumps 30,000 tons of oil into the sea each year; the 20 per cent that doesn't dumps an estimated 500,000 tons each year.

• Many heavy metals are highly toxic to specific life stages of a variety of organisms, especially shellfish. Most are concentrated in terrestrial and marine organisms by factors ranging from a few hundred to several hundred thousand times the concentrations in the surrounding environment. The major sources of mercury are industrial processes and biocides. Although the use of mercury in biocides is relatively small, it is a direct input into the environment. There are many other possible routes, but scanty data exist about the rates of release to the environment.

SCEP recommended 1) that pesticidal and biocidal uses of mercury should continue to be drastically curtailed, particularly where safer, less persistent substitutes can be used; 2) that industrial wastes and emissions of mercury should be controlled and recovered to the greatest extent possible, using available control and recovery methods; and 3) that world production, uses, and waste products should be carefully monitored.

• Eutrophication of waters through over-fertilization (principally with nitrogen and phosphorus) produces an excess of organic matter that decomposes, removes oxygen, and kills fish. Estuaries increasingly are being eutrophied. Pollution of in-shore regions eliminates the nursery grounds of fish, including many commercial species that inhabit the oceans.

Most (probably between 60 per cent and 70 per cent) of the phosphorus causing over-enrichment of water bodies comes from municipal wastes. In the United States about 75 per cent of the total phosphorus in these waters comes from detergents. Urban and rural land runoff contributes the remainder (approximately 30 per cent to 40 per cent). A major contributor is runoff from feed lots, manured lands, and eroding soil.

Trends in both nutrient use and loss are rising. Fertilizer consumption is expected to increase greatly in both developed and developing countries in the next decade, increasing the nutrient runoff from agricultural lands. Concentration of animal production will continue with the result that losses of nutrients from feed-lot runoff will quadruple by 2000. Urban waste production is expected to quadruple by 2000, which means greater potential loss of nutrients directly into coastal waters.

We should develop and apply technology to reclaim and recycle nutrients in areas of high concentrations, such as sewage treatment plants and feed lots. We also should avoid use of nutrients in products that are discharged in large quantities into air or water. For example, reformulate detergents to eliminate or reduce waste phosphates, but be certain the substitutes degrade and do not poison the ecosystem. Finally, there should be control of nutrient discharges in natural regions, such as river basins, estuaries, and coastal oceans, through appropriate institutions.

• To prevent further deterioration of the biosphere, and to repair some of the present damage, action is urgently needed. In addition to a variety of specific recommendations such as those accompanying the specific problem areas, SCEP recommends that the following activities be developed in national and international programs:

1) *Technology Assessment*: An information center that centralizes data on products of industry and agriculture,

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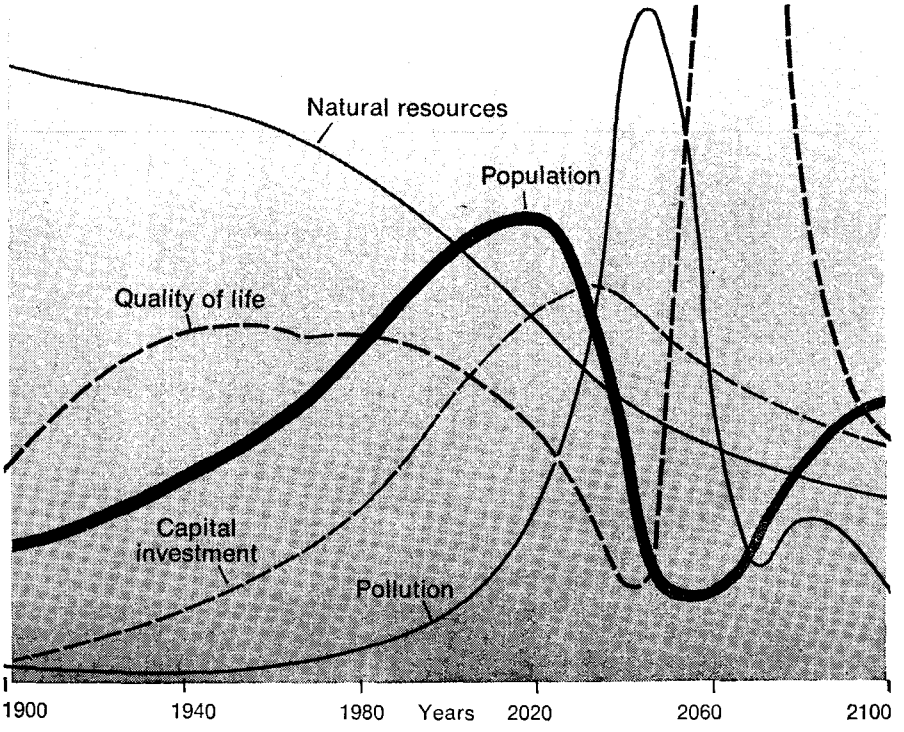
Computer Simulation of Pollution Limit to World Growth



Modern life has become so complex that man is no longer able to forecast the long-term consequences of his policies and activities. At MIT, a program directed by Professor Jay W. Forrester is using computer simulation models to study the dynamic behavior of interacting systems and how they would react to certain policy changes. The simulation above shows what might happen if capital investment were increased now by 20 per cent in an effort to reverse a decline in the quality of life. The pollution crisis worsens when the upsurge of industrialization overtaxes the environment before a depletion of natural resources has a chance to depress industrialization. An apparently desirable change in policy has caused unexpected consequences. The quality of life continues to decline until rising pollution and other factors produce a drop in total population and an increase in the availability of goods and services.

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CAN WE AFFORD TOMORROW?

The Economy: Our Deceptive "Growth Dividend"

by JOHN R. MEYER

The policy revolution known as the new economics is an accomplished fact. Where do we go now? Today the central economic issue is the trade-off between price inflation and unemployment, but new issues increasingly are coming to the fore—those involving national priorities and the relationship among our various private and public economic goals.

A major concern of the new economics is the concept of economic potential: where the economy could be, would be, or should be if it were to realize full or near-full employment. The embodiment of this new focus is potential Gross National Product (GNP). Potential GNP is increasingly the reference point against which policy alternatives are measured. This is manifested by the attention paid to the government's full-employment budget (based on what tax revenues would be if full employment existed) or the so-called GNP gap (the difference between actual and potential GNP). This gap has come into greater prominence as it is increasingly thought to influence many other important economic phenomena, such as the rate of overall price increase. And now, as if to prove that the revolution is complete, there is the newest concept of the business cycle: what some of my colleagues call a "growth recession," which they define as the existence of a persistent gap between potential and actual GNP. Those who advance this new definition of the cycle unhesitatingly would label current circumstances in the United States as constituting a growth recession—not foreclosing the increasingly strong probability that our economy has also been in a state that could be termed a recession by conventional definitions.

While economic potential is an ambiguous concept, some rough agreement does exist on what potential growth might constitute. We usually say, for example, that our economy can expand at more than 3 per cent a year because of productivity gains alone, and we can add another percentage point as a result of work force expansion. Thus, Gross National Product can be expected to expand by 4 to 4.5 per cent a year. Nor is the distinction between 4 and 4.5 per cent growth a year trivial in a trillion-dollar economy. It clearly makes a great deal of difference in a trillion-dollar economy whether GNP grows at 4.4 or 4.5 per cent, let alone 4.0 or 4.5 per cent. The difference over a few years could run into tens of billions of dollars.

More interesting than these measurement problems are the new policy issues that come to the fore when the focus is on economic growth. We have been confronted with the grim realization that there are definite limits on the economic and social needs that can be met from growth alone. If the economy grows by 4.5 per cent, only that much in the way of *new* assets will be available for meeting new requirements. If demands exceed this capability, then some hard choices must be made. This may seem terribly obvious, but it should be noted that it has not always been part of the common economic policy concern, particularly when the assumption was that the main problems were cyclical stabilization and putting unutilized resources to work. Only with the last report of the Council of Economic Advisers, in fact, was a start made on focusing public discussion on this simple but important factor.

The first step in analyzing this "growth dividend" or allocation question is to subdivide potential GNP into its three functional components: the public sector, the private sector, and the amount of growth we forgo for purposes of fighting inflation. How will these various components mesh with one another? Are our public and private aspirations, taken together, consistent with what we can achieve? In the financial area, for example, a key question is whether present financial institutions can generate the funds required by our private markets and our public policy decisions. State and local governments rely heavily on debt financing, which is sometimes subject to severe interest rate ceilings. Accordingly, we must ponder whether the potential price inflation generated by full employment would lead to interest rates that pose a hardship for states and municipalities. Similarly, is full employment consistent with our goals for housing, a sector that is also heavily dependent on debt financing?

A continuous price inflation may make it difficult to fund activities that historically depend on debt as their major source of financing. Institutional adjustments, of course, can be made to meet these problems. Indeed, we have already discovered new ways to finance activities that rely on debt in times of substantial price inflation. One example is the equity participation that is now being built into the financing of large-scale commercial and industrial real estate developments. We also see many special subsidies or other techniques used to divert funds into home mortgage markets. Even AT&T is discovering the virtues of warrants and equity-oriented financial devices.

But this may not be enough. For example, I would not entirely rule out the possibility of moving to variable interest rates on home mortgages in a pattern now employed by the British. Indeed, there has already been some experimentation, not always successful, with such devices in the United States. Perhaps we shall also come to experiment with index bonds, where the level of repayment is tied to the price level. Or we may increasingly employ tax penalties or incentives to induce private enterprise to undertake social activities such as pollution control and thus reduce the burden that might otherwise be placed on public funds. Similarly, revenue sharing, federalization of welfare, the administration's family support program, or an out-and-out negative income tax would all tend to shift tax incidence and revenue support in ways that might be more compatible with continued high rates of economic growth.

I mention these possibilities not by way of endorsement but to direct attention to the issues we must face as we pursue new public objectives. At the same time, we must try to accommodate the needs generated by continued growth in our population and in our private sector. They are questions we must answer as the nation moves closer to full employment in an economy with a strong inflationary potential.

It is not clear, for example, that our financial institutions are readily consistent with attempts to channel

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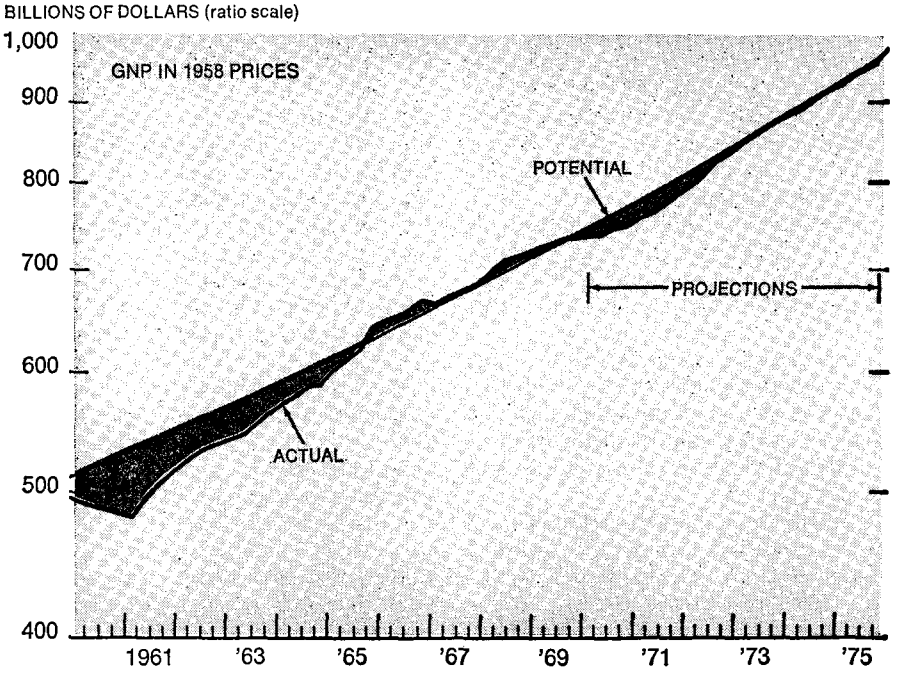
growth in directions that we increasingly seek or consider socially desirable. This generation of Americans has been confronted with strongly rising social aspirations. We seem intent on allocating more of our wealth to environmental improvement, elimination of poverty, enrichment of our educational system, and development of better urban transportation. Almost all of these programs imply diverting a considerable share of future economic growth to the public sector or to public goods. Under present arrangements, however, the goal of full employment may be easier to achieve with an emphasis on the private rather than the public sector. When confronting inflation we seem prone to reduce housing, anti-poverty, urban improvement, and similar social programs first. When we decide to stimulate a depressed economy, the temptation is to cut taxes as the simplest solution. Thus, our objectives of high employment and low inflation as they are often pursued may be inconsistent with the attainment of our larger environmental and social goals.

Perhaps it is an intuitive understanding of this point that leads some of the more ardent environmentalists to proclaim themselves opposed to future economic growth—a notion that strikes practical men as odd since it would be easier to meet new claims on our resources if we had continued growth and prosperity in our economy.

To answer this challenge involves a great deal more than simply deciding what we want to do, although clarifying our goals will certainly help. Can our economic and financial institutions, our labor markets, educational establishment, and fiscal arrangements adjust to these new challenges? I suspect that they can, but doing so will not be easy. It will require considerably more information and detail on the functioning of our economy than we now possess. It will mean experimenting with new arrangements—and in some cases experiencing failure. It will necessitate some dislocation of vested interests and the status quo. Above all, it will require a sense of social responsibility and cooperation in virtually all elements of our highly disparate and heterogeneous society.

Gross National Product, Actual and Potential



Restoration of Confidence

IF WE ASK what tasks still lie ahead, the answer I believe must be: full restoration of confidence among consumers and businessmen that inflationary pressures will continue to moderate, while the awaited recovery in production and employment becomes a reality.

The implications of this answer for the general course of monetary and fiscal policies over the near term seem to me clear. The thrust of monetary and fiscal policies must be sufficiently stimulative to assure a satisfactory recovery in production and employment. But we must be careful to avoid excessive monetary expansion or unduly stimulative fiscal policies. Past experience indicates that efforts to regain our full output potential overnight would almost surely be self-defeating. The improvements in productivity that we have struggled so hard to achieve would be lost if we found ourselves engulfed once again in the inflationary excesses that inevitably occur in an overheated economy.

As I look back on the latter years of the nineteen hundred and sixties, and consider the havoc wrought by the inflation of that period, I am convinced that we as a people need to assign greater prominence to the goal of price stability in the hierarchy of stabilization objectives. I have recommended on earlier occasions that the Employment Act of 1946 be amended to include explicit reference to the objective of general price stability. Such a change in that law will not, of course, assure better economic policies. But it would call the nation's attention dramatically to the vital role of reasonable price stability in the maintenance of our national economic health.

—ARTHUR F. BURNS, Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, from a speech delivered at Pepperdine College.

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CAN WE AFFORD TOMORROW?

National Goals: Survival Is the Issue

by JOHN V. LINDSAY,
Mayor of New York City

I wish I could afford to speculate about the 1970s and the 1980s, taking the long view of national goals: decent medical care for every citizen, the end of poverty and drug abuse and pollution, a guaranteed chance for a higher education, and a guaranteed job. But, for a mayor, there is another, more immediate question. My city now faces an urgent fiscal crisis—and across the country, cities and suburbs that in the past have at least muddled through today wonder whether they can do even that. Not since the Depression have the goals of states and localities been so readily summed up in one word—survival.

And the immediate question of local survival will determine the ultimate outcome of our national hopes. By the year 2000, the United States will be an urban and suburban country of 300 million people. Nine out of ten Americans will live in metropolitan areas. The city is all that we can see. For better or for worse, our fate will be found in our own streets and neighborhoods. The cities are the future. If we lose them, we lose the chance to realize our best hopes.

And we could lose. Recall the newspaper headlines of recent months:

- In Detroit, Mayor Roman Gribbs laid off hundreds of public employees pending the passage of a new utilities tax.
- In Cleveland, Mayor Carl Stokes cut the city budget by more than 20 per cent, reduced city personnel by 15 per cent, closed the Police Academy, and dismissed the current class of police cadets. Cleveland has stopped tearing down dilapidated and condemned buildings. It lacks the money even to destroy, let alone to build. No wonder Mayor Stokes warned last fall that his city could not long continue to operate under these circumstances.
- In Washington, D.C., Mayor Walter C. Washington laid off 1,000 employees, stopped financing 1.5 million textbooks, and eliminated 2,400 slots in the pre-kindergarten program.
- In Newark, Mayor Kenneth Gibson, faced with a deficit approximately equal to 40 per cent of the total city budget, announced that the public schools might not reopen after the Christmas holidays.
- From Albany, Governor Nelson Rockefeller called for a crisis meeting on state finances with New York's Representatives in Congress. He is seeking $500-million to $1-billion in help for the cities and suburbs of his state from the President.
- In East St. Louis, local merchants have advanced the city half a million dollars to pay its bills.

With all our difficulties, New York City has had relatively less trouble than most. If we had a deficit proportionate to Newark's, it would total $3-billion. If we cut back expenditures on the scale of Cleveland, we would have to slash $1.5-billion from our expense budget. We have not been forced into such massive fiscal mutilation. Our broad economic base, our office-building boom, and our differentiated tax structure have protected us from the very worst effects of inflation and recession.

Nevertheless, we share the human cost of a failing national economy. We must meet a prospective deficit for the current fiscal year of $200-$300-million in our expense budget. That means $200-$300-million less to serve the most pressing needs of eight million people. The most obvious response, cutting the budget, is severely limited by law. Welfare, debt service, and pension benefits —three items the city legally cannot control—and municipal salaries all together account for 82 per cent of our expense budget.

As in business, when the crunch comes, the only immediate way to save money is to fire people. The crunch has come for millions of Americans in the private sector. This fall it has come to the public sector.

Our employees also have families to support. They, too, hope for security and know despair when their jobs disappear. What is more, their loss is a loss to public service, to the rest of us who depend on them to maintain and improve our urban life. But we must act to resolve our budget crisis. New York City is acting—carefully, because we hope the crisis will abate; deliberately, because austerity is the only responsible choice.

In October, we instituted a selective job freeze. In November, I instructed city agencies to lay off 500 employees. We have also cut $15-million from city programs, stopped merit increases, and tightened productivity controls. And this is not the end. I frankly do not know the extent to which the quality of urban life will be damaged by these and other necessary measures. But I do know that the danger is very real.

Citizens have a right to know why. They may point out that we have been hearing about the fiscal crisis in the states and the cities for decades. I have been worrying and talking about it for years. Yet we always seem to do just a little bit more than survive. Why can't we make it now?

From the early 1960s until late 1967, the national economy grew rapidly, almost without significant price inflation. Growth even continued into early 1969, although inflation was becoming a more and more serious problem. At all levels of government, this prolonged prosperity generated a fiscal dividend, a built-in rise in tax revenues due to higher incomes among individuals and corporations. For almost a decade, a booming economy each year added an automatic 5 to 7 per cent to state and local revenues.

And the fiscal dividend was not our only asset, as state and local tax revenues rose from $50-billion to more than $115-billion in ten years. Much of the increase came from new taxes rather than from higher taxes, as states and cities increasingly turned to growth-responsive taxes. In New York City, for example, the equalized property tax rate is about the same now as it was in 1960, even though tax bills have risen with property values.

But, during the same period, we enacted a personal income tax and stock transfer tax. We shifted from a gross receipts tax to a straight income tax on business earnings. We share in the proceeds of the state lottery. And we have secured the most advanced program of state revenue sharing in the nation. Perhaps foremost among American states and cities, New York

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City has moved to modernize its tax system by financing public enterprise through more elastic and universal levies that have been the basis for federal taxation for fifty years. A third asset that helped pay the bills was an increase in federal and state aid. In 1970, federal expenditures for domestic programs were $50-billion higher than in 1960. During the same decade New York State's annual aid to local governments rose by $3-billion. As a result, some 40 per cent of the city's budget comes from federal and state aid. A similar situation prevails in many large cities.

In sum, strong economic growth, imaginative new tax policies, and outside help sustained state and local revenues through the Sixties. Upward trends in all three enabled us to do a little more each year, but only a little, as public demands and legitimate grievances multiplied.

Until 1970. In 1970 survival is the issue because there is no real growth in the economy; there are few new taxes to levy; and federal and state aid is leveling off as economic conditions take their terrible toll on all governments. And survival is also the issue because inflation has transformed rising costs into runaway costs, while unemployment swells welfare rolls.

Trapped between rising expenditures and short-falling revenues, governments from coast to coast face a unique possibility of bankruptcy. Not a bankruptcy of credit but of capacity. This loss of capacity is direct and devastating. It threatens protection of all kinds and every kind of service. It means less for our cities, when everything we know and feel and sense about them tells us they deserve far more. Worst of all, it wastes our spirit. Frustrated citizens pay more and more, not to make things right, but just to stave off further losses.

"There is no effective local defense against national economic decline. Ultimately, the task of restoring security and prosperity is a task for Washington."

Mayors everywhere have been sounding alarms, but few have listened. Now in the city and nation we are left with hard but inescapable tasks. In the city, government service must produce more than ever at less and less cost. In the nation, from every part of the political spectrum, we must join together to change the conditions that so trouble and disturb us. We must gather together the strength to mobilize our nation's resources and to restore our nation's cities.

New realities, social and economic as well as political, require new priorities. That Vietnam is the wrong war in the wrong place at the wrong time is a tragedy that is now obvious to all. We should have stopped before we started. We must stop now—so that we can start saving our cities.

And we must do more.

We are told that next year's defense budget may go up by $5-billion. In the face of conditions that threaten stability and safety in our cities and neighborhoods, that priority must be closely questioned. The ABM and the SST are in competition with education, public safety, housing, health, and clean streets. We must take sides and speak out for stable communities, free

—Will Faller (Monkmeyer)

"For better or for worse, our fate will be found in our own streets."

—Vernon Sigl (Pix)

"Citizens have a right to know why."

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from fear, and for schools and housing and medical care.

But building a decent society requires more than new priorities. We must also reclaim prosperity, and that may be our most difficult task. Washington's "no-win" economics promises to prolong inflation and accelerate recession. Not only has it trapped our state and local governments, it has also put millions of hard pressed working men and women out of work. No group or class is exempt, from aircraft workers to Ph.D.s.

The battle to turn our economy around must be a national fight. There is no effective local defense against national economic decline. Ultimately, the task of restoring security and prosperity is a task for Washington. Specifically, three steps are vital:

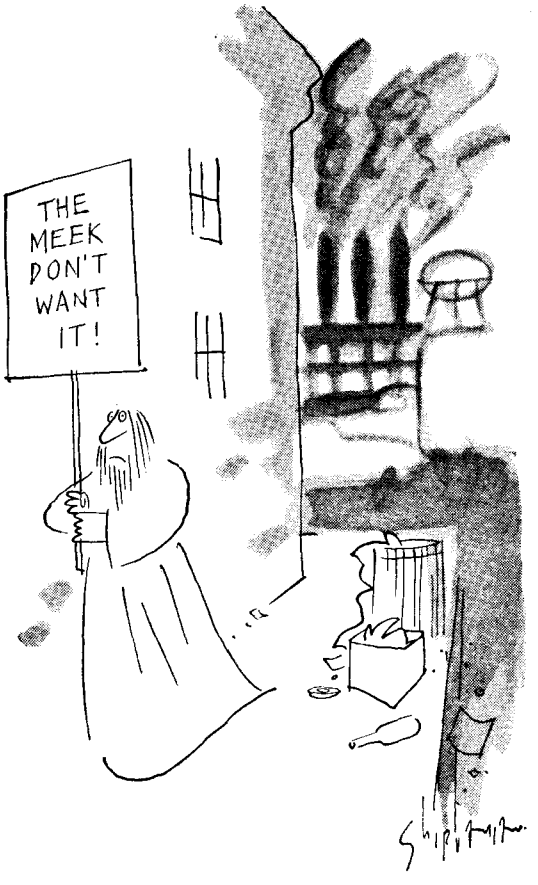
1) The federal government should institute temporary and selective wage and price controls. Costs, chiefly wages, are climbing much faster than productivity. As a result industry raises prices to preserve profit margins. In the end, this year's higher wages buy less than last year's lower wages. The profit squeeze goes on. And the standard of living for the American worker has not improved. It may now be late to gain maximum impact from direct controls. In my judgment, they should have been imposed a year ago. But they remain the only real alternative.

2) The federal government must provide emergency relief for the cities. Too much is at stake for "politics as usual." The cities desperately need immediate help, and the federal government must supply it. For example, Washington can and must assume the enormous welfare burden now imposed by a disastrous and inequitable federal law.

3) A massive program of large-scale federal revenue sharing is essential. The national government can eliminate Vietnam costs, reduce defense expenditures, and slash irrational programs such as the SST. Sharing these savings by itself would enable states and cities not only to survive, but to prevail.

This is a minimum agenda. Whether we fulfill it will determine whether we can heal our country, bind ourselves together, end our divisions, and build a nation worthy of our beginnings. If we cannot move forward in the cities, we will move backward in America. And if we fail now the costs will far outweigh today's financial deficits. They will be measured in despair, in hatred, in bitterness, and in strife.

So, the most pressing political reality is the urgency of new national goals —and we will win or lose in the struggle for the cities. As citizens we have no higher obligation. We can only help put this planet in order if we put our own house in order.



Manpower

Continued from page 41

work conditioned by experience in marginal industries with primitive personnel practices, and the acceptance of high turnover and casual job attachment as a way of life. And there is the larger question of whether the inordinate postponement of adulthood that is increasingly the reality for our youth is a factor in their present rebellious state of mind. We warn youth that dropping out of high school dooms one in the labor market. But I submit that the rewards for staying in high school are pretty meager as far as success in the labor market is concerned.

While I do not presume to have a neat solution, I think there are some guides we can follow. I believe the world of work and the world of education must be joined together—I mean a radical reform of the American educational and labor-force entry system. If we find value in giving youth not bound for college a quality general education, then we ought to alternate school and work in a systematic fashion, sharing the responsibility between educators and businessmen for smoothing the transition into adulthood. We already have a laboratory operating in the United States where this is done: Cooperative Education, with 200,000 youths now enrolled. I think we can learn a lot from this experience.

Though it may not be the only form that should be tried, cooperative education is the kind of partnership I have in mind for an increasing proportion of youth not headed for college. In such a partnership,

- the school gets feedback from the employer on what educational deficiencies need correcting;
- the employer gets advice from the school on the individual needs and characteristics of the student;
- the school becomes instrumental in finding a career job and increases its importance in the eyes of the youth;
- the part-time jobs provide earnings and a greater sense of independence—at least a partial answer to the problem of postponing adulthood as long as we do in the United States, which fuels restlessness among the young; and
- the work introduces discipline and teaches responsibility.

I don't mean that all high school youth should be forced into this pattern. But they should have the option of choosing a path that combines work and school. It does not make sense to shelter a youth from work while we

(*Continued on page 53*)

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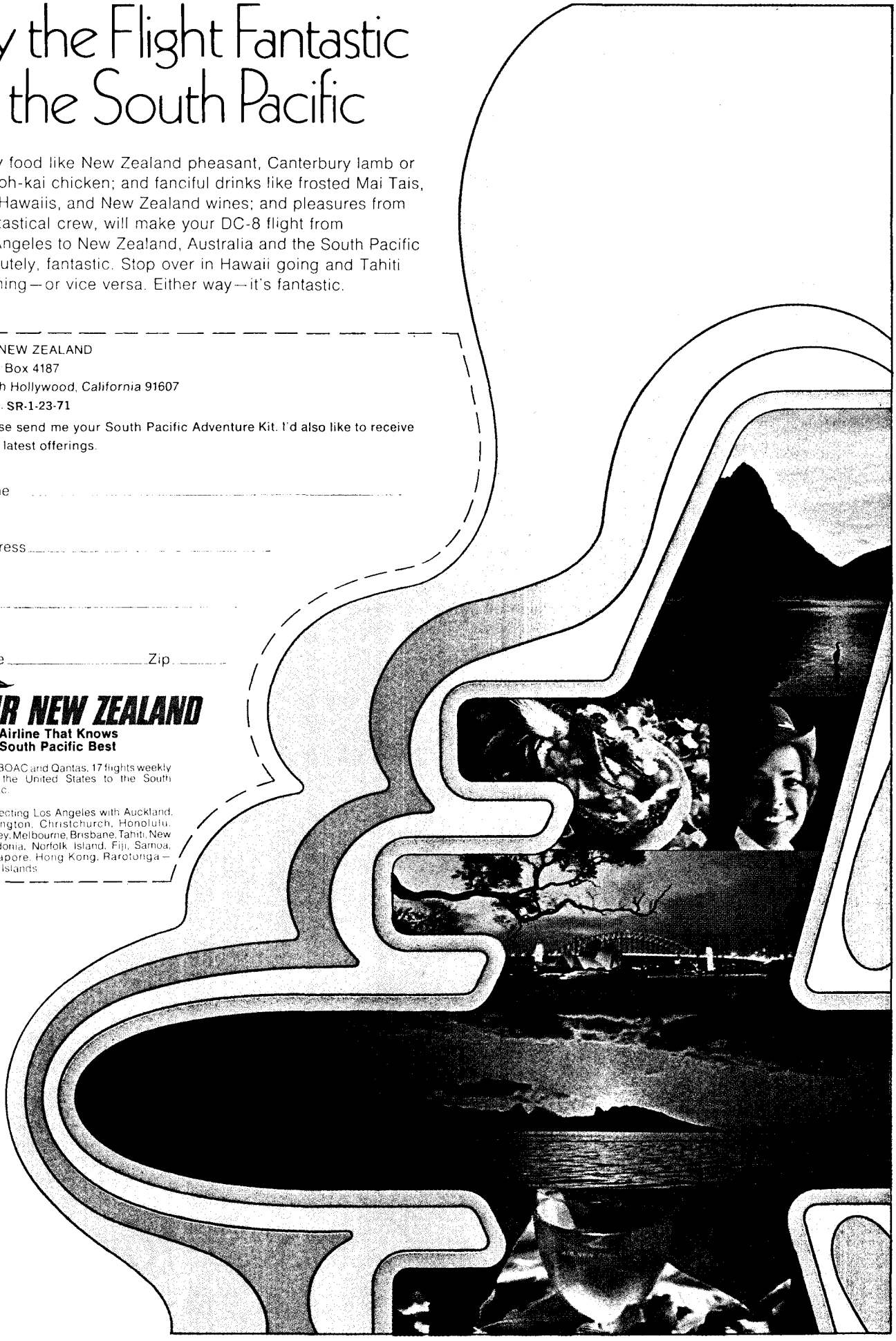

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TV-Radio

Robert Lewis Shayon

Riding Shotgun on Justice

SUNDAY, JANUARY 17 (if all went as scheduled), KPFT-FM, the Pacifica Foundation's radio station in Houston, Texas, went back on the air after having been silenced for three months by a dynamite blast that destroyed its transmitter. Houston's listeners once again had a free-speech medium available to them that operates under this policy (quoted from the station's program-listing folio):

> KPFT is an open enterprise, and Pacifica has no ax to grind other than insuring that its microphones are open to every point of view. If you know of something we ought to broadcast, please write us about it. We are likely to respond by asking you to help or advise on production of the program you suggest; in such cases, the station's materials, equipment, and workers are available to any organization without cost or obligation to them.

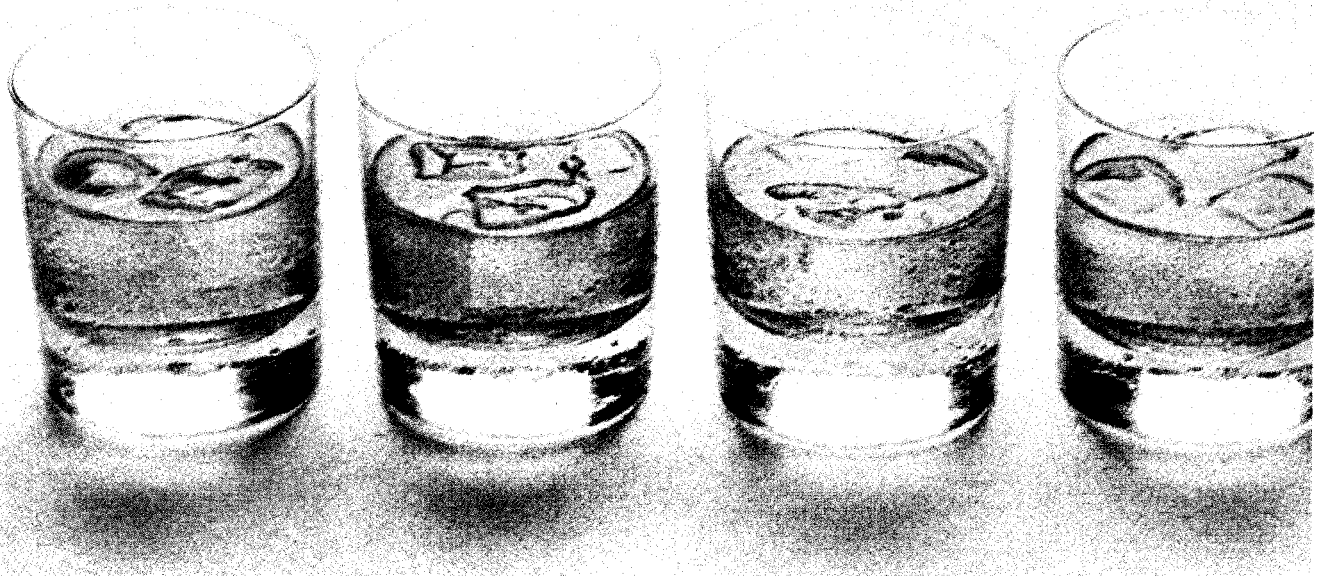
The number of broadcast licensees with such an open-mike policy can be counted on the fingers of one hand (most are sister Pacifica stations in San Francisco, Los Angeles, and New York City). You would think that all Houston citizens would rejoice at their being numbered among the lucky few, but you would be mistaken. The unknown dynamiters who blasted KPFT's transmitter not once but twice (an earlier explosion last May knocked the station off the air for a month) may, indeed, be planning a third silencing for all anyone knows. Speculation has fingered the destroyers as either vigilantes of the Ku Klux Klan or other clandestine groups in the space center city who feel threatened by KPFT's probing, truth-seeking journalism that often airs stories of right-wing terrorism that are ignored by Houston's major media.

I have been told by people whose word I trust that KPFT is unpopular with most of Houston's commercial and industrial leaders. Their perception-filters let through an image of the Pacifica station as being staffed by "outsiders," "troublemakers," radical Left hippies and subversives, whose politics and life-styles raise the hackles of respectable, conservative elements in this rapidly changing industrial boom town so close psychologically to the vanishing frontier ethos. They may sincerely decry criminal bombings, but do they mind the consequences in this particular case?

KPFT's 2,500 subscribers (the station is entirely listener- and donor-supported, without commercials), its unpaid, enthusiastic volunteers, and its staff of ill-paid workers perceive the station's programing not only as providing minority cultural needs in Houston but as a mind-opening force for the majority of the population afflicted with long-standing, regional biases against Mexican-Americans, blacks, and "politicals."

The staff at KPFT is liberal and left of center (as is true of the staffs of all Pacifica stations), but its unquestioned, demonstrated dedication to the policy of open mikes for all points of view has earned support for KPFT—in the wake of the two bombings—from such influential sources as CBS, the Federal Communications Commission, the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB), *Broadcasting* magazine, the Houston *Post*, and the Houston *Chronicle*. The broadcasters have urged Attorney General John Mitchell and J.

Can you pick out your Scotch?



"Black & White." Scotch for people

All Scotches shown above were photographed under identical lighting with equal proportions of whisky and ice, using an 8x10 Plaubel camera with 165

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Edgar Hoover to investigate the dynamitings, and the *Post* has offered a $1,500 reward for the arrest and conviction of the offenders.

The investigation/reward aspects of the bombings are not without their mystifying, disquieting overtones. The FBI has still not entered the case at the official Washington level, and Houston agents have been involved in a now-we-do-and-now-we-don't charade with the Harris County sheriff's office. The sheriff has said to the FBI, in effect: Don't move—we're about to crack the case any minute. Mr. Hoover's agency has expressed reluctance to cross jurisdictional frontiers.

A few weeks ago, Lawrence Lee, KPFT's general manager, wrote the NAB Joint Boards chairman, Willard E. Walbridge, asking the broadcasters' organization to pledge $10,000 reward money that would be "administered by the local FBI to pay informants in the case." Mr. Lee said that "the Federal Bureau of Investigation has made sufficient progress in its probe of the dynamitings of KPFT to recommend strongly" the acquisition of the $10,000. He added: "Both the need for the funds and the terms of their administration may be clarified by communicating" with an agent of the FBI's Houston office whom he specified.

"KPFT does not have $10,000," the station's general manager said to the NAB, and he argued that "by pledging this reward . . . you will . . . ensure the precedent of federal investigation, indictment, prosecution, and conviction in any further such case of an attack against a broadcast licensee."

Subsequently, Chairman Walbridge asked Lee to reconsider and withdraw his request. "The very idea of making special funds available to do police work and pay off informants puts a price on justice that I for one would be unwilling to pay.

"We are a beleaguered industry," Mr. Walbridge added, "with many pressing problems and limited funds at the NAB. You have suffered too much, and I feel for you. But you must not ask me to propose something to the industry which it cannot condone on principle."

Three days later, the specified special agent in charge of the FBI in Houston wrote Lee: "This bureau does not and never has involved itself in the solicitation of reward money, and further, under no circumstances would the FBI consider the administration of any reward monies that any individual or group desired to offer."

Lenny Bruce once said on a Pacifica program: "People should be taught what is, not what should be." I disagree. What is, in KPFT's case, is a return to the air with ambivalent, begrudging Establishment support. What should be is a pervasive, affirmative backing from a community that values the reality of free speech and not just the rhetoric of it. Since October 6, the date of the second bombing, KPFT has raised more than $100,000 in subscriptions and gifts to help return it to the air. The financial success is gratifying, but the station's general manager hopes that "the time will come when KPFT gains attention not for what happened *to* it, but for what it accomplishes as a secure and truly free public station." KPFT operates currently under a deficit that will kill it unless 8,000 annual subscribers can be counted on by 1972 and Houston's wealthy individuals, foundations, and businesses modify their image of this adventurous, indigenous Houston operation, and recognize it as a community project worth saving.

I once called the Pacifica stations "an intellectual Pony Express." Like the famed message carriers of the Old West, the courageous broadcasters have run into trouble on the Houston leg of their circuit. Will the respectable townspeople join with them or with the outlaws who ambushed them? Houston's move from frontier to space age may well ride on the outcome.

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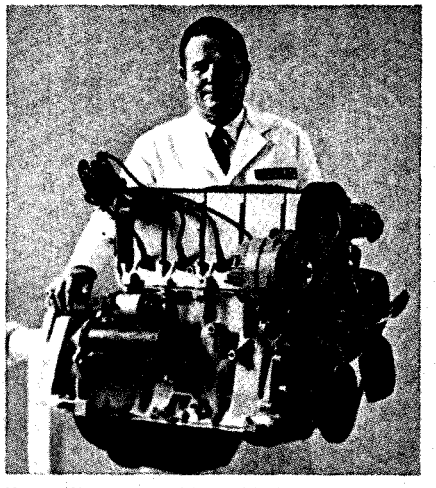
The Reynolds Automotive Team has been working on this engine since 1958. In fact, their developments go back even farther than that. They made the first aluminum grille, and helped pioneer aluminum transmission housings, brake drums, electrical coils, pumps,



Harold H. Macklin of Reynolds Automotive Team shows the Vega 2300 engine that makes iron cylinder sleeves obsolete.

and trim parts. Their theory is that each steel or iron part they replace with aluminum helps reduce overall weight, improve performance and handling, and add to the car's long-run value.

Converting the engine to aluminum means important weight savings, not only in the power plant but in supporting structures, too.

The key was to develop an aluminum block which needed no heavy, costly iron cylinder sleeves. The Reynolds Automotive Team, headed by Harold H. Macklin, came up with a new high-silicon alloy and cylinder bore finishing techniques which made this possible.

They also helped build an aluminum engine technology that covers die casting and machining, piston design, lubricating oils, and piston rings. They've logged thousands of dynamometer hours and nearly a million miles on the road.

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REYNOLDS
where new ideas take shape in
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(*Continued from page* 48)
attend solely to his educational needs, and then put him on his own the day school is out, to find employment without either guidance, or skill, or prior work experience.

Thirty million high school graduates will enter the American labor market in this decade. Employers must not hold them at arm's length until full adulthood is reached. Entry into regular adult jobs ought to be gradual and planned, with employers and the educational system sharing the responsibility.

During the next decade we are certain to see a revival of an old approach to manpower problems: the creation of public jobs for unemployed people. This approach is not gaining new favor in this country because of memories of sweet success in the Depression. Whatever may be the real story about the contribution of WPA to citizen well-being, the experience left bad memories for most people.

Last year, Congress passed a large public employment program as part of the Comprehensive Manpower Training bill. It was vetoed by the President, not because he is against public employment programs, but because of the shape the public employment portion took as it went through Congress.

But we do expect the next Congress to pass a manpower bill that includes public employment. Hopefully, it will be of the high quality desired by the President. There are problems in the design of a public employment program, and careful choices have to be made.

The first problem with public service jobs is the hard choice between making them as identical as possible to regular jobs or labeling them as public jobs for people who couldn't make it in the competitive world. If we are conscious of the evolution of welfare policy, we know that the program was designed to stigmatize the welfare client, with the belief that this was the only way to ensure minimum reliance on welfare. If receipt of welfare resulted in your neighbor's looking down on you, then you would go on welfare only as a last resort. Similarly, if public service jobs were deliberately made into welfare jobs, they would become so conspicuous and undesirable that they would be shunned. The alternative is to go as far as possible in the opposite direction and deliberately make them comparable to regular jobs. The temptation is strong to downgrade the job in order to encourage independence and rapid movement into competitive employment. But this approach failed in welfare. I fear that if the job is not a real one, and if a man loses self-respect by working in a job that has an image of being a program for castoffs on the dole, then he is not going to achieve independence. Self-respect is a vital commodity, and we cannot undermine it on the one hand and expect to be rewarded by initiative on the other.

The second problem with public service jobs is whether to emphasize the product or service rendered or to stress the employment it provides to the poor. In the past, the idea was to search for a task that the unemployed could perform; little weight was given to its community benefit. The opposite approach is first to select a product or service that is actually desired by the community. If we emphasize the product and perform a needed service to the community, the program will more nearly serve its function as an adjunct to regular employment. Contrary to past experience, we will need to record what the work accomplished, and what the community received for the public expenditure.

The third problem concerns duration—to what extent should the jobs be ends in themselves, and to what extent should they be designed merely as a means of preparing people to enter other jobs? This is an important distinction. While we want the jobs to be genuine and the work to be important, we also want them to be pathways to competitive positions, and we are loath to say that they constitute a lasting solution. On the other hand, Congress has viewed the jobs as permanent, a fact that led to the Presidential veto. In addition to our desire to channel the unemployed into regular competitive jobs, we do not want to tie up scarce manpower funds by the need to meet a permanent payroll. Our training programs have only a one-time cost, and we can serve many more people with the same level of spending.

One way to achieve the desired transition into regular employment is to select subsidized public work in which the occupations have counterparts in either the regular private or public sector. The person would earn and learn. Somewhere in the public sector, one can find almost every occupation represented. There may be some different duties in the private job counterpart, but these can be identified and supplementary training be provided, either along with regular job duties or during a transitional period at the end of the public employment. (The nearest civilian counterpart occupations to all military occupations have been catalogued; the same can be done for jobs created in the public sector.)

A second possibility is to fund public jobs that have normal and open lines of promotion in career work. Using program funds to create a cadre of police cadets is an example. By a combination of actual police experience, on-the-job training, and supplementary education, the cadets can move on to regular police forces.

The fourth problem concerns pay—should all the jobs pay the minimum wage, or should they pay the prevailing rate for comparable work? The minimum wage-ceiling concept would limit the attractiveness of the jobs and seemingly build in an incentive to move on to higher-paid, unsubsidized jobs. But if they are only minimum-wage jobs, they are going to have to be unskilled and of the more menial variety. We cannot provide a skilled job and pay the minimum wage. The alternative is to pay prevailing wage rates that in many cases would be in excess of the minimum wage. This would have the advantage of making the jobs identical in pay to similar unsubsidized jobs and reinforce the image of the jobs as real employment. Also, it allows a better mix of skill levels and enables the undertaking of more complex projects than if all the jobs were of the unskilled minimum-wage variety. There may be drawbacks in terms of incentives for people in subsidized jobs to move on to regular jobs, but this problem can be tackled in other ways.

Can we afford tomorrow? I believe we can and we must. To fail with respect to jobs and training is to fail ourselves and our children in the fulfillment of the great human potential in our society.

WIT TWISTER #201

Edited by ARTHUR SWAN

The object of the game is to complete the poem by thinking of one word whose letters, when rearranged, will yield the appropriate word for each series of blanks. Each dash within a blank corresponds to a letter of the word.

The bell _ _ _ _ _ midnight.
Frightened, the grand dame
In terror _ _ _ _ _ before the
witch's stare.
The fire _ _ _ _ _ in one tall,
tongue-like flame,
And yet her _ _ _ _ _ hang
frozen in the air.
The seeress nods; she knows the
lady's need:
For moral _ _ _ _ _, she
seeks some sure surcease.
A _ _ _ _ _ ground from
tubers, with some seed
And powdered _ _ _ _ _,
brings the lovelorn peace.

—A.S.

(*Answer on page* 93)

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FRED J. BORCH

Productivity Will Be the Key

Fred J. Borch, only the fifth chief executive officer in General Electric's seventy-nine-year history, presides over a worldwide company of about 350,000 employees, with annual sales of $8-billion a year, and half a million shareholders. His appearance before the Congressional Economics Committee's hearings in Washington, where he gained national publicity for his outspoken philosophy on matters economic and social, is but one of the reasons Mr. Borch received twice as many votes for *SR*'s Businessman of the Year 1970 as any other candidate among the upper echelon of American business, government, finance, industry, and commerce.

Mr. Borch's year was not all strawberries and cream, however. When one goes up to his New York City headquarters near the top of the General Electric Building at 570 Lexington Avenue, one has to get a special pass from a guard at the back of the foyer, and this pass has to be shown both on entry and departure because of bombs and bomb threats against one of the world's largest manufacturing concerns and one, incidentally, that deals in all manner of military contracts.

Fred Borch's leadership in the business community and his incisive comments put him in the minds of top executives in this country who vote in the *SR* Businessman of the Year poll. Here is how Mr. Borch succinctly put his philosophy about the present national recession: "As someone has suggested, the uneasiness about the American economy is at least twice as bad as the economy itself. Personally, I am highly optimistic. I think the opportunities for the U.S. economy—and, incidentally, General Electric—in the next five years are very great. We are blessed with: one, a growing and good labor force; two, an abundant technology; and three, great depths of managerial talent in this country. Accordingly, I put forward this simple proposition that our society is a productive society; that its prime mission, as well as its great genius, is its productivity; and that improving productivity in the services-government sector of the economy, as we continue to improve productivity in the manufacturing sector, will be the keystone of our national progress."

He added that as American businessmen look to the Seventies there is an urgency for more output than we have learned how to produce. Needs presented to us by our international obligations, the problems of our cities, the problems of our physical environment, all press heavily on and substantially influence the nature of the output of this coming decade. What is essential is to get additional output without excessive inflation. But Mr. Borch does not believe that wage and price controls will ever be effective. They were not during the last war and are unlikely to be in peacetime. In the first place, from a purely practical standpoint, the extraordinary number of small institutions and establishments responsible for wage and price decisions in governmental and services sectors make these areas virtually resistant to any wage and price control or influence. In the second place, eroding profit margins in the manufacturing sector and mounting idle capacity suggest that the forces of competition are already holding back prices there relative to the services sector.

Mr. Borch, a tall, slender man with abundant energy and crackling eyes, is the sort of person, according to his associates, "who makes you feel as comfortable as an old shoe." Indeed, very few people addressed Ralph J. Cordiner, the man Mr. Borch succeeded at General Electric, by his first name. But no one ever thinks of addressing Fred as "Mr. Borch." His outstanding characteristic? A top G-E official believes it is probably Borch's ability to pick the right man for the job, for sizing up people, and then getting the very best out of them. It is too early to gauge his success as chairman of the board of G-E, but one thing is clear from all who know him: He has the courage and imagination to change things when he thinks they need changing, including the way big industrial strikes are adjudicated in this country. During the recent three-month G-E strike, many workers in Schenectady and elsewhere voted against the contract as it had been negotiated because, with unemployment insurance payments and food stamps, some of the

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lower-income workers had more take-home pay when they didn't work than when they did. To a man who has worked ten hours a day all his life, this sort of anomaly doesn't set well.

Actually, the year just closed has been far more of a disappointment than a disaster economically, as Mr. Borch has been quick to point out. Although unemployment is at its highest in seven years and prices are up while profits are down, the public mood appears to be more pessimistic than the business recession warrants. Industrial output for 1970 was less than half of 1 per cent below 1969, a record year. On the other hand, personal income in 1970 set a new all-time record, rising more than 7 per cent, and corporate profits were down a bit, but even during the worst period of the year they were only 10 per cent below the 1966 high-water mark. Therefore, Mr. Borch is not alone in feeling that some of the counter-attack along the U.S. economic front has to be engaged in at the psychological level as well as the economic.

One of the G-E vice presidents feels about Mr. Borch this way: "He always measures objectively, never emotionally. The subjective is invariably reduced to an objective basis, and no matter how difficult a situation may be, he always manages to encourage you. He has great understanding." Mr. Borch's complete control of his emotions appears to be of inestimable value at such a high executive level. Another plus, as far as Mr. Borch's G-E associates are concerned, is his remarkable memory, which, along with sound judgment, has always been a characteristic of successful executives everywhere.

Mr. Borch was born in Brooklyn on April 28, 1910; his father was an electrical engineer with Brooklyn Edison. Later, the Borch family moved to Ohio, where Mr. Borch was educated, receiving his B.A. in economics from Case Western Reserve in 1931. He went to work as an auditor with General Electric upon graduation, and by 1947 he had become manager of the Sales Operation Department. In 1954, he was

"Here's a letter from a stockholder who is profoundly impressed by our institutional image; but he wants to know what the hell we make."

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named vice president for marketing services, in which post he worked closely with Ralph J. Cordiner, the man he succeeded as chief executive officer in 1963.

The recipient of many honorary awards and degrees, Mr. Borch received the Ohio Governor's Award, that state's highest honor, in 1964 for distinguished professional achievement that has enhanced the prestige of the state. Mr. and Mrs. Borch live in Darien, Connecticut. He is chairman of the Business Council and vice chairman of the Committee for Economic Development. He is a member of the Public Advisory Committee on U.S. Trade Policy, the Industry Advisory Council of the Department of Defense, the Economic Development Council of New York City, the Council on Foreign Relations, the Center for Inter-American Relations, and the Case Western Reserve University Board of Trustees.

The latest venture reported under Fred Borch's leadership is General Electric's move into the production of TV programs, video cassettes, CATV material, and even movies. The idea is to match G-E's participation in the hardware of communication with the software of programing. No one who knows Fred Borch doubts G-E can do it. —RICHARD L. TOBIN.

FRASER YOUNG
LITERARY CRYPT NO. 1434

A cryptogram is writing in cipher. Every letter is part of a code that remains constant throughout the puzzle. Answer No. 1434 will be found in the next issue.

DX DU FOTFSU TDXZ XZA LAUX

DGXAGXDWGU XZFX XZA

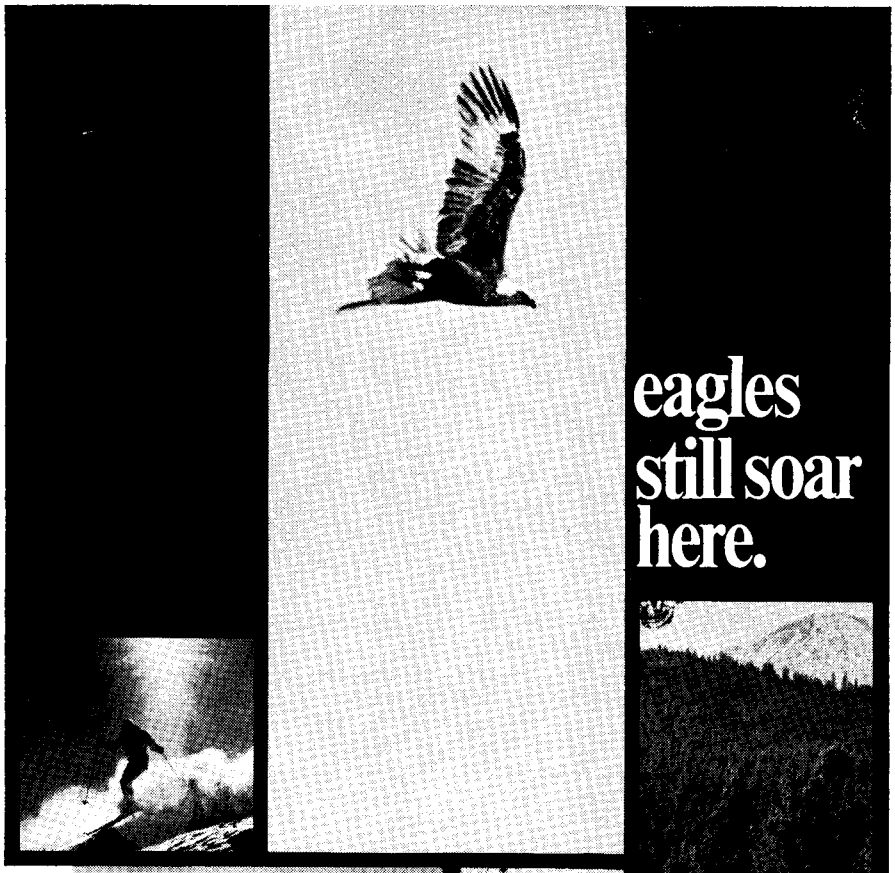
TWNUX TWNE DU QWGA.

—WUBFN TDOQA

Answer to Literary Crypt No. 1433

Art consists of limitation. The most beautiful part of every picture is the frame.

—CHESTERTON.



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Letters to the Editor

Critical Points

STEPHEN KOCH in "The Cruel, Cruel Critics" [*SR*, Dec. 26] makes a questionable generalization when he remarks: "Everyone seems to agree that at the very best the critics more or less respectably call attention to what the public—*any* public, wherever their brows may be—may happen to like." Can those who spend so much of their time in ivory towers actually perform such a feat?

Most films intended for review are initially exhibited not in theaters but in screening rooms. This procedure has at least one advantage: It allows more time to elapse before a verdict is submitted. Offsetting the prolonged interval for reflection is the artificial atmosphere of such a setting; the critic is surrounded not by members of an average, run-of-the-mill audience but by his fellow pundits. Theirs, of course, is a highly sophisticated response.

Under such circumstances, would it not be difficult, even impossible, to determine "what the public may happen to like," particularly if the work under consideration is in any sense unusual or innovative?

THOMAS G. MORGANSEN,
Jackson Heights, N.Y.

IF JOHN SIMON were simply a performer putting on a "self-serving little show," as Stephen Koch suggested in his recent article, I doubt very much whether Mr. Simon would have been considered for the position he now holds among the distinguished National Society of Film Critics. And were Simon content merely to "aspire to Fame," he would no doubt be writing the easily quotable reviews favored by most critics instead of the reasoned analyses that we have come to expect of him. Indeed, far from being a publicity-seeker, Simon is confined to a low-circulation magazine, where his column constantly provides the most uncompromising and discriminating criticism available to American readers.

Incidentally, on the Dick Cavett program Koch mentioned, Simon was taken aback more than anything else by the violent nature of Robert Blake's sudden outburst. The emptiness of Blake's charge ("What have *you* ever directed?") was sufficiently exposed, as Koch neglected to add, by the old saying that you don't have to be a chicken to recognize a bad omelet.

MARTIN MITCHELL,
New York, N.Y.

Cover Story

THE RECENT three-part special "Writing and the Film" [*SR*, Dec. 26] was, as always, an elegant year-end view of the movie industry. But who are those two gentlemen shown on the cover? I suspect the man sitting down on the right is Ford Sterling, a comic in films when I was a teen-ager. But the cameraman?

HENRY J. FRILINGER,
New York, N.Y.

EDITOR'S NOTE: *Indeed, Ford Sterling it is; one of the original Keystone Cops and a slapstick heavy, Mr. Sterling was shown on* SR*'s cover being "photographed" while "on location" aboard the* SS Olympic *by that popular leading man of the silent era, Lew Cody.*

Religions: East and West

MARCIA CAVELL slips a little in her otherwise excellent article "Visions of a New Religion" [*SR*, Dec. 19] when she writes that "mysticism is a more essential and obvious element" in the Eastern religions of yoga and Zen Buddhism than it is in those of the West.

Actually, Buddhism is one of the least mystical religions of the world, and Zen is the least mystical sect of Buddhism. The difficulty arises because we of the West have a bit of difficulty with the concepts of the East, and so try to place them in the nearest equivalent we can think of.

The distinction between mysticism and Zen has been well expressed by R. H. Blyth: "Mysticism uses the object, the finite, as a telescope to look into the infinite. Zen looks at the telescope."

What then is the attraction of Zen? Christmas Humphreys in *Zen Buddhism* describes it as being a man's religion (yet without limiting it to one sex or the other):

> I agree with the late Dwight Goddard that the West is overburdened with the other kind, "religions of authority and priestcraft, or ritual, and a faith that demands the setting aside of the individual mind, and the acceptance of and obedience to irrational dogmas and arbitrary authority." A man's religion, he says, must leave a man to do his own thinking and free to work out his own salvation in a way of his own choosing. "It must carry with it the lure of a great adventure. There must be no sham, no promise of quick and easy returns of magical healing and cheap emotion. It must not involve an unending expense, and it must tend toward the support of the simple life. Such a man's religion is offered by Zen Buddhism."

In short, Buddhism is popular with the young today because it meets the human needs better than the religions they have previously known. What better reason could there be?

BRUCE C. TYLER,
Fort Lauderdale, Fla.

IN Marcia Cavell's recent article a quotation is attributed to Gen. William Westmoreland: "We'll bomb them back to the Stone Age." As I recall, it was Gen. Curtis LeMay who said, " . . . bomb them into the Stone Age," in response to a question put to him during the 1968 Presidential campaign as to what he would do in Vietnam.

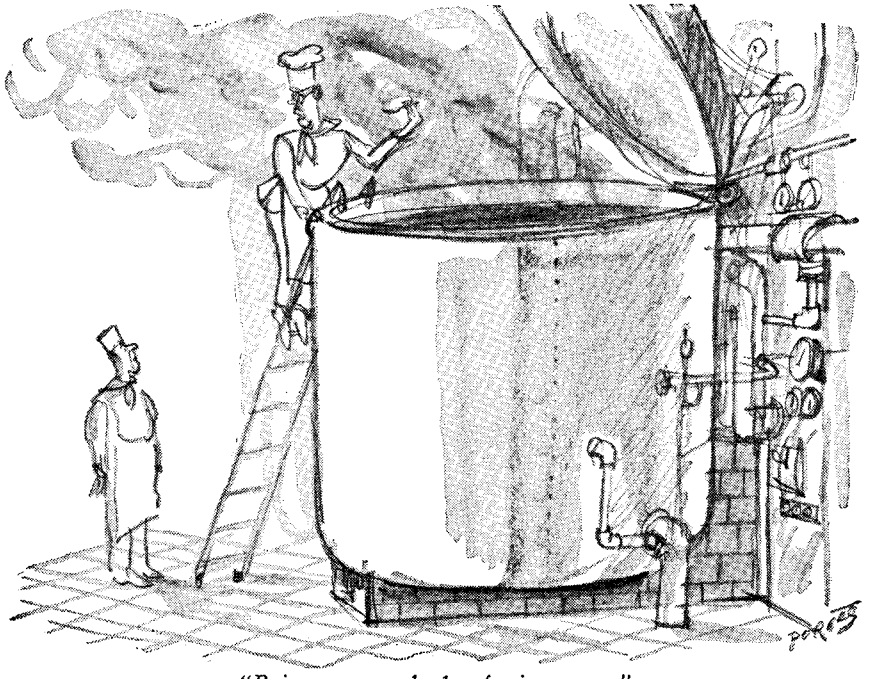
R. S. GREEN,
Los Angeles, Calif.

Neglected Peripatetics

RE: "World Travel Calendar—1971" [*SR*, Jan. 2]. The listing neglects to include the Rotary International Convention to be held in Sydney, Australia, May 16 to 20.

There are 14,526 Rotary Clubs scattered throughout the world, with a membership of approximately 700,000 peripatetic men. They are not all Babbitts; in fact, many are quite literate and have been known to read *SR*.

ALLAN L. BAIARDI,
Bloomfield, Conn.



"Bring me a dash of cinnamon."

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Reality and Socialist Realism

by THEODORE SOLOTAROFF

BABI YAR:
A Document in the Form of a Novel

by A. Anatoli (Kuznetsov)
translated from the Russian by
David Floyd

Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 478 pp., $10

In September of 1941 the German armies entered and occupied the city of Kiev, which the Russian high command had abruptly abandoned. Much of the population of this major city of the Ukraine, which had resisted and been devastated by the land reforms of the previous decade, regarded the Germans as heroes and liberators. To Anatole Kuznetsov, a boy of twelve, the rabble of half-starved Russian soldiers, many of whom were pleading for civilian clothes so that they could desert, were a pathetic contrast to the sleek, efficient Germans, who were passing out baskets of bread and who seemed to have stepped out of the films of Russia's invincible new ally that had been shown in school only two years before.

A few days later the Kreschatik, the main thoroughfare of Kiev, where the Germans had set up their headquarters, was all but destroyed by bombs and fires that were clearly the work of the NKVD. The next day the entire Jewish population was rounded up for deportation—"the Yids" being held responsible for the destruction of the district—and marched through streets lined with visibly pleased and jeering Ukrainians. Even young Kuznetsov, whose best friend was half-Jewish, found himself aping his grandfather's delight in this turn of events. Soon it became clear that the Jews were not being taken to trains but to a huge ravine called Babi Yar on the outskirts of the city, from which the sound of machine-gun fire could already be heard. One Jewish boy managed to escape and return to the neighborhood, and, as Kuznetsov looked on, one of the women quickly sent for the police, who recaptured the boy.

Now almost all of the details in the above paragraphs will not be found in the version of *Babi Yar* that was published in Russia in 1966. They appear in this new version, which Kuznetsov claims to be the original uncensored manuscript, along with certain additions, which he smuggled out in microfilm along with his other original manuscripts in the course of his notorious escape to England sixteen months ago. In order to demonstrate the nature and extent of Soviet literary censorship, he has had the censored material —about one-fifth of the book—set in boldface type; the added material, set within brackets, largely comprises observations and opinions that emphasize his anti-Soviet point of view. There are also three long passages, which Kuznetsov claims he initially removed himself on the advice of his editor. The first one directly accuses the NKVD of destroying the Kreschatik in order to bring on the Nazi terror; the second similarly holds the NKVD responsible for the destruction, attributed to the Germans, of the famous Kiev-Percherk monastery; and the third describes the previously suppressed "revenge of Babi Yar" in 1961, when the Soviet effort to fill in the ravine, which it regarded as an embarrassment and a source of philo-Jewish feeling, resulted in a terrific avalanche of mud that killed several thousand more of the people of Kiev.

So this new version of *Babi Yar* is a fascinating document—provided one believes Kuznetsov's claim for it. In his last LONDON LETTER [*SR*, Dec. 12]

THEODORE SOLOTAROFF is editor of the *New American Review* and author of a recently published collection of essays on writing in the 1960s, *The Red Hot Vacuum*.

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—*Pix*

A. Anatoli (Kuznetsov)—"rings true."

Herbert R. Mayes suggested that the new version is a fraud, that Kuznetsov added the "censored" material after coming to England, presumably to increase the value of the book as a case study of Soviet literary repression, the first of its kind. It is easy to draw the cloud of suspicion that surrounds Kuznetsov's character over his book as well, to say that a man who lied about a conspiracy within a circle of writers in order to carry out his escape from the Soviet Union is capable of anything, certainly of bearing false witness about a mere book.

In fairness to Mayes, he offers other reasons for doubting Kuznetsov's word as well as his claim for the text. But in fairness to Kuznetsov, it must be said that Mayes's reasons are vague, conjectural, or misleading. He is vague when he tells us that he finally met Kuznetsov and, having "asked questions" and been "given answers," he decided to warn the readers of *SR*. He is conjectural when he disputes the story of the microfilm on the ground that Kuznetsov couldn't likely have gotten that much film into the lining of his coat or past the authorities at either end of his trip. He is misleading on a number of matters that bear on Kuznetsov's credibility, such as his frequent escapes from death recorded in *Babi Yar*. (Actually, they are much less frequent than one might expect, considering that young Kuznetsov was daily combing the streets in search of food and disobeying various Nazi edicts, and further considering that one-third of the population was killed during the occupation.) Most misleading is Mayes's assertion that the "new uncensored version" is "approximately the same" as the Soviet one, except that Kuznetsov shows that the "Communists were no less ruthless and dreadful than the Nazis." The differences between the two versions are far more extensive and intricate than that; moreover, in characterizing this exception Mayes trivializes it to absurdity, as if we were to say that Jones's condition is approximately the same except that he is no longer semi-paralyzed.

No; until a more cogent argument comes along, I think it is well to believe Kuznetsov's claim for the text. For one thing, if he were simply the opportunistic liar Mayes makes him out to be, Kuznetsov would be sitting comfortably now in his home in Tula, writing novels of flawless socialist realism. Each of his four books has run into trouble for being anti-Soviet; he appears to have been a barely tolerated spokesman for the young, a kind of safety valve of dissident feeling that could be regulated by editors and government censors to maintain the proper pressure and degree of half-truth and a plausible atmosphere of tolerance. I have not seen his other novels, but, from the various reports, I imagine them to be rather like Yevtushenko's poetry—both outspoken and positive. Kuznetsov's work has appeared mainly in *Yunost*, a youth-oriented journal that is given a bit more latitude by the authorities, in return for which its editors man the boundaries of the permissible against the pressure of writers like Kuznetsov. In a journal he also smuggled out, Kuznetsov describes his fight with Boris Polevoi, the editor of *Yunost*, over the "correcting" of the text of *Babi Yar*. Polevoi, a novelist himself, remarked: "You think you're going to write and I'm going to carry the can? The writing is yours; the backsides are ours."

This rings true; so does Kuznetsov's account of his rage at what was done to *Babi Yar* both in manuscript and in galleys, presumably by the official censors. It is clear from the book itself that he had packed into it the two most terrible and decisive years of his life, that he had struggled to express how his character as well as his view of the human condition had been shaped by the experience, and that much of this material had disappeared along with the anti-Soviet content. Moreover, the cutting that was done is alternately deft and gross: sometimes a matter of excising a few words that alter or tone down the emphasis but allow the point to be made, the narrative to run smoothly; sometimes the removal of a whole passage, much of it unobjectionable but containing a controversial detail. Some changes are rational and systematic, given the purposes involved, while others seem capricious and inscrutable. Finally, *Babi Yar* in its new version is written in a direct, headlong, earnest, assertive style that seamlessly joins the "censored" material to the rest. In his introduction Kuznetsov tells us that he initially tried to write the story of Babi Yar according to the rules of socialist realism—"the only guide to writing which I knew"—but that the recollections he had preserved in a notebook turned dead in his hands. Given the nature of these recollections, it is easy to see why he wrote the powerful, stumbling, honest book he says he did, and hard to see why he would have written the thinned-out, cagey, self-mutilating book that Mayes believes Kuznetsov originally wrote.

Babi Yar is mainly the story of how he survived the Nazi occupation and was changed by it. At the time the Germans arrived he was a robust, studious boy. His father, who had recently moved elsewhere and remarried, was a former Red Army officer and Party official, a tough, vital man who had participated in the murderous agrarian reforms and spoke of them freely. His mother was a schoolteacher, a sensitive but hard-working woman who was seldom at home. Anatole was mostly raised by his grandparents, both former peasants. His grandmother's gentle piety and his grandfather's obdurate hostility to the Bolsheviks were completely at variance with Anatole's indoctrination in school and in the Pioneers, and he tended to play the one set of influences off against the other as a way of keeping his wits about him. Like most active, alert boys, he received his primary education in the streets, but he was also clearly on his way to a good career in the ever-widening horizons of the Soviet future.

Within a few weeks of the occupation he had become a half-famished street urchin, selling matches or cigarette paper or whatever he could get his hands on, shining shoes, stealing beets or potatoes from moving trucks, and prowling the city and countryside like "a young wolf." Living near Babi Yar, he could hear the machine guns firing almost every day as, according to Nazi custom, the Jews were succeeded as targets by mental patients, Gypsies, political prisoners, victims of the frequent reprisals, slackers, jokers, thieves, and other "unreliable elements." Along with the terror, famine spread through the city. The price of two pounds of bread was nearly equal to a worker's monthly wages, and in the nearby prisoner-of-war camp the Russian soldiers were eating grass to stay alive, while the surrounding fields were filled with unharvested potatoes. In time, young Kuznetsov, who ultimately came down with incipient tuberculosis, did forced labor on a farm and then in a canning factory. At one point the boy stole into a closed soup kitchen:

> In an effort to find at least a grain of corn I started crawling around exam-

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ining the cracks in the floor. But everything had been brushed up. . . . I sniffed at a [frying pan] and found it smelt of fried onions. . . . It made me whimper . . . and I started licking the frying pan, either imagining or actually getting the faint taste of onion. I went on whimpering and licking, whimpering and licking.

Eventually he worked for a sausage maker who gave him the bones of the horses he used. (Another "sausage maker" was arrested after a human finger was found in one of his casings.) Meanwhile, Anatole watched as ever-larger segments of the population were rounded up like cattle and shipped to Germany. When the age limit was lowered to fourteen, Anatole was picked up for a transport, but managed to run away and escape the bullets fired at him. Later he says to himself:

You've got the guns, but I've got my legs. . . . I know now why I am alive, scratch around among the market-stalls, gnaw horse's bones: I am growing up so as to be able to hate you and fight you . . . to fight against the evil ones who are turning the world into a prison and a stone crusher.

As Anatole becomes tough, resourceful, persistent, fearless in his body, he also becomes so in his mind. Learning to see through the Nazi propaganda to the danger and evils it cloaked, he begins to recognize the similarities of the words and deeds of Nazi "socialism" and "humanism" and the Soviet versions. With ample time and reason to brood, he perceives the connection between the forced famine of the 1930s and that of the present, between the cannibalism his father described and the tales of the sausage maker and of the prison camps. When he comes home one day to find his mother desperately burning their books and family records, he thinks back to a similar scene during the Soviet investigations and purges a few years before. He realizes that the dull passivity of a group of peasants about to be deported, accepting their enslavement as a matter of course, is owing to the fact that all of their lives they have known nothing but the yoke of privation and terror. He observes that the very same building that housed the Ukrainian Secret Police has been taken over by the Gestapo, and adds that after the war it would revert to its original tenants. He thinks that someday it may become a museum displaying "the destruction of man in the Ukraine and his transformation back into an ape."

Needless to say, this growing awareness of the world as an extension of Babi Yar was filleted from the original text as the spine from a fish. Not only do the anti-Soviet references go, but so do Kuznetsov's comparisons of himself, his fellow sufferers, and mankind itself to one form or another of animal life. He is not allowed to have murderous impulses, even toward men who have beaten him to get the few beets he has stolen. If he connives to get a second portion of soup at the canteen, that is deleted. If he steals fir trees to sell at the New Year holiday, that is deleted. The development of his survivalist mentality is as much a heresy as his disbelief in progress, compassion, and cooperation. If he insists that true culture requires that men not be mudered and debased, it is stricken from his book. If he even inquires, in good Marxist fashion, about the wretched lives that were necessary to support an Alexander of Macedon or a Napoleon, "not to mention any other of our great benefactors," or for that matter a Hamlet or Anna Karenina, that is stricken from his book. If he asks why young people today are indifferent or hostile to politics, that is stricken from his book.

To the Soviet censors, the data of Kuznetsov's eyes and ears are as unreliable as his behavior or his thoughts. Russian prisoners of war being marched to a camp did not number in the "thousands," did not appear "unfeeling" and "frightened," did not scramble madly after a few raw potatoes that were thrown to them. Kuznetsov did not meet two Russian soldiers serving as scouts for the Germans, or hear that the most sadistic guard in the concentration camp at Babi Yar was Russian. He was not "confused" by a fatherly German soldier, a "very pleasant, smiling character," who regards as "Bolsheviks" the Jews, women, and children he has killed, and who makes Anatole realize that the machine gunners at Babi Yar are probably the same sort of simple, hearty men. The people of Kiev were not thrown into a panic during the German air raids and did not lack bomb shelters; they did not loot the abandoned shops nearly as much as Kuznetsov says they did; did not docilely cooperate and collaborate; did not brutally rob, beat, betray, and kill each other. The presence of the Jews in Kiev is minimized as much as possible, and the concern for withholding sympathy from them goes as far as to cut out the fact that one boy who managed to escape for a while was "a good-looking child with lovely eyes." The word "Palestine" is excised even from the rumors about the Jews' destination.

The inflexibility of Soviet orthodoxy is everywhere evident. One of the Jewish women believes that after they arrive in their new home their baggage will be divided up "equally. Then there won't be rich and poor anymore." The material in quotes was censored. So is all mention of an old woman, once the wife of a manufacturer, who lives in her bourgeois past and who fascinates Anatole as much as if she had come from the moon. Because one of his aunts was a beggar, she too must go. There are frequent deletions of his grandmother's religious practices, her superstitions, and other peasant folkways. The word "miracle" is apparently impermissible in any context. Collective farmers do not go hungry or ragged even in wartime. Stalin is preserved from all accusations of incompetence, deceit, and brutality; the NKVD is either whitewashed or erased. Most of Kuznetov's veiled attempts to associate the Soviet régime with that of the Nazis, such as his observation that their flags are both red, or that the

Your Literary I.Q.

Conducted by David M. Glixon

WORDS ALIVE

Can you match Emily Dickinson's descriptive phrases with her subjects? That is the question posed by Catherine C. Hull of Wyoming, R. I. The glossary is rearranged for you on page 68.

1. My criterion for tune. ( )
2. The thing with feathers / That perches in the soul. ( )
3. A resonance of emerald, / A rush of cochineal. ( )
4. A narrow fellow in the grass. ( )
5. I like to see it lap the miles,
   And lick the valleys up. ( )
6. The shawl of pink / In which we wrap the soul. ( )
7. Its little ether hood / Doth sit upon its head. ( )
8. Essential host in Life's faint, wailing inn. ( )
9. The orator of April. ( )
10. Those cattle smaller than a bee. ( )
11. A visitor in marl / Who influences flowers. ( )
12. The chariot / That bears a human soul. ( )

A. air
B. book
C. dandelion
D. fly
E. frog
F. frost
G. hope
H. hummingbird
I. robin
J. shame
K. snake
L. train

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Germans used the blood-soaked Stalinist phrase "enemy of the people," are deftly ferreted out. But sometimes the association is made by Soviet guilt itself, as when Kuznetsov, speaking generally, refers to such "absolute madness as war, dictatorship, police terror," and the censor strikes the last two examples.

The protocols of Soviet censorship are also incredibly priggish. Soldiers cannot be shown defecating, and the naked corpses in the portable gas chambers enslimed in their feces and urine are cleaned up by the blue pencil. The deaths of two Jewish women vanish from the record because they were raped. A suspected Jew cannot be examined with a microscope to see if he has been circumcised because in the Soviet Union neither the living nor the dead have sexual organs. Anatole is not permitted to discover some photographs of naked women, nor is a young mother allowed to bare her breasts in desperation to show the guard that she has a nursing child at home. Two pretty Russian girls in the entourage of a German general are removed without a trace, their offenses being both carnal and political.

I shall not try to catalogue others of the fifty-seven varieties of things that cannot be written about, openly or covertly, in the Soviet Union. The final point I want to make is that even if Kuznetsov doctored the Soviet version of his text in order to make this new version, we would still have an appalling account of what it is like to be a writer in the Soviet Union today, for then the incessant distortion and impoverishment of consciousness reflected in the deleted material would have been the work of an internalized censor and the more terrible for that. In one of his entries in the journal I referred to earlier, Kuznetsov speaks of his increasing anxiety and despair about his vocation and of his fear that he is becoming more and more "stupid," is turning into an Ionesco rhinoceros. Partly this is owing, he says, to his lack of contacts with the West and its writers. But it is also owing to the gap between what he knows and feels and what he can say, between his experience and the expression of it. What socialist realism asks the writer to do is not only to lie but to lay waste his experience, to lobotomize himself, and to denature the world.

"When you come to think of it," Anatole remarks after delivering some delicacy to the concentration camp commander at Babi Yar, "the whole world was a prison: restrictions on all sides . . . you can only go here, live only like this, think only like this and speak only like this." The last two phrases were cut.

Book Forum

Letters from Readers

Sexual Non Sequitur

THAT DORIS LANGLEY MOORE [BOOK FORUM, Dec. 19] should wish to correct a position falsely attributed to her by Professor Webster's review of *The Uninhibited Byron* is comprehensible. What I fail to understand is why, in seizing the occasion to add slurs of her own, a woman I had always admired as a conscientious scholar should exhibit her own ignorance of the facts. Her argument that "a prolific poet" could hardly have indulged in "a series of sexual orgies" is a beautiful example of a *non sequitur*, however satisfying to her sensibilities. When Swinburne was writing at his best, he was not only prolific but outstripping Byron in his sexual indulgence; and apparently nothing impeded the Marquis de Sade from pouring out volume after volume of prose. It is astonishing that Mrs. Moore has never heard of Byron's orgies; Marchand's three volumes, which she says she respects, are peppered with them.

As for the sodomy, it is not I who charge Byron with it. Surely Mrs. Moore before this must have read Hobhouse's marginal note of Moore's biography that Lord Holland had told him that Byron "tried to - - - - - her [his wife]" or the fact that it was common gossip during the poet's last weeks in England that he had committed that act, and that Hobhouse did all in his power to force Lady Byron to contradict the rumor. Byron himself speaks of it in his letter to Hobhouse of May 17, 1819 (three years later). The poet Thomas Campbell declared that Lady Byron's separation from her husband was concerned with "morality and the most sacred rights of sex," and that he himself would not discuss the matter further for "the subject would lead me insensibly into hateful disclosures against Lord Byron." (See *The Uninhibited Byron*, pp. 243 *et seq.* and their documentation in the reference notes.)

BERNARD GREBANIER,
New York, N.Y.

Exquisite Fatuities

HENRY S. RESNIK, IN HIS ESSAY "The Shadows Cast by Chicago" [*SR*, Dec. 10], has spawned a few exquisite fatuities, not the least of which is the idea that the trial emerges as an epic event—something, I presume, like a massive and sudden altering of the total conscience of mankind, such that we can say of it that before it there was a holier time than after it. The trial marks the beginning, Mr. Resnik says, of a "new era—of political crackdowns on dissent, of political trials in malevolent courts." At the same time, says he, the trial evoked a response of violence on the part of inherently peaceful political dissidents.

I cannot accept either proposition; not the second, because it simply is not true. There was, I think, some little violent dissent in this country before the trial, and after the trial the trial was itself less a cause for violence on the part of basically violent dissenters than an excuse for violence.

And neither can I accept the first proposition, because in making it Mr. Resnik has simply failed to see that he has gotten himself neatly out on the end of the same philosophical limb occupied by many of our legal philosophers and High Court judges. These people, well-meaning in themselves but propelled by legal imperatives and precedents, have so managed to define and redefine the liberties deriving deductively from the First Amendment that they have, in effect, reduced to an absurdity the whole idea of democracy based on the rule of a majority respecting the rights of minorities. We find ourselves now in the incongruous situation in which not just minorities but even sub-minorities have the power to tyrannize and effectively control the majority.

WILLIAM S. FISHER,
Berlin, N.J.

Plausible Condemnation

YOUR EDITOR'S REPLY to Mr. George H. Smith's very plausible condemnation of your left-wing stand [BOOK FORUM, Jan. 2] is, in my opinion, a "cop-out," if ever there was!

You say that you believe in a democratic marketplace of ideas, permitting your selected critics to voice their own ideas and opinions, even when they conflict with those of the editors. But who selects those critics? What sort of a review of the books in question would have been written by William J. Buckley or Clarence Manion or Senator McClellan?

W. H. STELLNER,
Chicago, Ill.

EDITOR'S NOTE: *SR, which more than once has invited Mr. Buckley to write for it, still hopes that one day his busy schedule will permit him to do so. However, others have voiced the right-wing attitude in our pages—most recently, Barry Goldwater.*

Faust, Not Freud

IN THE REVIEW of *Social Character in a Mexican Village* [*SR*, Dec. 5], Robert E. Murphy credits Freud with saying, "In the beginning was the deed." In spite of my distinctly Freudian orientation, I must tell you that good old Sigmund wasn't the author of this quotation; it is a verbal translation of Goethe's Faust, who attempts to translate *"logos"* into German and after discarding *"Wort," "Sinn," "Kraft,"* finally triumphs: *"Im Anfang war die Tat!"*

HERBERT BAUER,
Davis, Calif.

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European Literary Scene

Robert J. Clements

José Donoso's most ambitious novel, *El obsceno pájaro de la noche* (Obscene Bird of Night), is being launched in Spain with fanfare by Seix Barral. Born in Chile in 1924, Donoso, like his friend Carlos Fuentes, has led a cosmopolitan life, residing in Argentina, Mexico, Portugal, the U.S., and (since 1967) Spain. He studied at Princeton, taught in the Writers' Workshop of the University of Iowa, and completed *Pájaro* under a Guggenheim Fellowship. Donoso's novels *Coronation* and *This Sunday* were published in English translation by Knopf, to high critical acclaim, and the firm will eventually issue an English version of *Pájaro*.

The title is reminiscent of the evil nocturnal birds that haunt Goya's *caprichos*. The story contrasts life on a run-down estate, La Rinconada, with that in a church-operated residence for elderly women. The sterile, embittered old age of these grotesque ladies, who are right out of Goya's *Witches' Sabbath*, is at the opposite pole from the decadence of the more aristocratic losers of La Rinconada, all of whom are afflicted with some physical deformity. Each represents the aberrations of a mode of existence that has outlived feudalism, or that, in the savage view of the author, is in a state of putrefaction. In theme and treatment the novel reminds one of Buñuel. Though Donoso had Chile in mind, his book, which has been described as "structured delirium," is relevant to any of the Spanish-speaking countries where medieval religious and feudal attitudes still cling.

Some Muslim novelists of North Africa are considered by France as her very own, notably Albert Memmi of Tunisia, Driss Chraïbi of Morocco, and the four Algerians Mohammed Dib, Kateb Yacine, Mouloud Mammeri, and Mouloud Feraoun. *Dieu en Barbarie* (Editions du Seuil) is Dib's thirteenth book to be published in France. The title is a reproachful reminder that the French name for the Barbary Coast is the word for "barbarism" (*barbarie*). All of Dib's prose and poetry show his concern for the destiny of Algeria. His first novel, *La grande maison* (1952), depicted simply and realistically the poverty and unhappiness of his homeland. Yet even when the French "*centurions*" began shedding Algerian blood, his poetry on the subject maintained a measured tone.

Now that Algeria is free, Dib is still worrying about its future. Freedom, as so many countries learned after World War II, usually brings new problems. The dilemma of liberated Algeria, old Dr. Berchig explains on the first page of *Dieu en Barbarie*, can be solved with a simple formula: Don't get crushed between the great power blocs. "*Messieurs les Occidentaux, Messieurs les Russes, Messieurs les Chinois*, one by one or all together, I'm your man, I toast your health, and God keep you!" The physician's younger friends, Kamal Waed and Hakim Madjar, disapprove of this accommodating attitude. Kamal, a *cadriste* of the new administration, hopes for Algeria's autonomy along with a cooperative alignment with France; Hakim inclines more to the left, closer to the Ben Barka policies. He sees nothing wrong in the new "mendicants of God" going around the countryside and haranguing the *fellahin*, urging them to communize their land and share it with those who have none. He even finds such a revolutionary policy "profoundly Islamic." Dialogue dominates the novel, while political machinations operate in the background. In a happy ending the three friends manage to reconcile their differences, and the wealthy old physician even contributes to the young men's more progressive, if nationalistic, cause.

Americans are familiar with novels set in Hollywood, often composed by writers biting the hand that fed them; the names of Carl Van Vechten, Scott Fitzgerald, John O'Hara, Nathanael West, and Christopher Isherwood come to mind. The cinema theme is new in the USSR, and Russians are turning with interest to *Earthquake* (Sovietsky Pisatel Publishers), Lazar Karelin's story about the Ashkhabad film studios in their pioneering years, 1947-48. The book, Karelin's longest novel yet, concerns the personal lives of members of the film colony and the impact on them of the sixteen-second earthquake that razed the hot little town (it is just across the border from Iran) in 1947.

Chief interest centers on a triangle involving the live-wire director Denisov, who wants to instil new life into the industry; the beautiful star Maryam, and the stodgy director Ptitsyn. The *Wunderkind*'s first film is a success, and, even though the *apparatchiki* boost Ptitsyn to a higher place in the hierarchy, it is obvious that Denisov is going to be the hero.

But, in most novels where an act of God interferes, nature has the last word, and the narrative assumes a philosophical tone. Thinking only of his own preservation, Denisov manages to survive. Ptitsyn tries to save Maryam. His effort is in vain, but the two are buried together in the little town. Man proposes, God disposes. And then, in Turkmenistan as elsewhere, man picks up the pieces and starts over.

A welcome addition to any Germanist's library is the new collection of 364 of Theodor Fontane's letters in *Von Dreissig bis Achtzig* (From Thirty to Eighty, produced with scholarly care by Nymphenburger, Munich). Since the North German impressionist (1819-1898) wrote two volumes of autobiography, carrying him through his twenties, these letters, intersticed with biographical material, complete his life story. From the first letter, to Barnhard von Lepel in September 1845, to the final one to Fontane's wife, Emilie, on 20 September 1898 (the day of his death), we learn much about the man, his friends, his travels, and his ballads and novels. Ironically, the last sentence of that final letter reads: "Widows are always more full of life than widowers."

The prolific Heinrich Böll is stirring up much interest in Germany with a new play, *Aussatz* (Leprosy). After a radio performance (Germany's best dramatists have no scorn of radio work) it was premièred at the Kammerspielstudio in Aachen. A young priest has killed himself in a hotel, and, although the police have identified him, his friends and church superiors refuse to confirm the identification. The reason, it turns out, is his insubordination and heresy: he could not approve the compromises made by the Church in order to maintain itself in the contemporary world. The friends who denied him are punished, however, for the post mortem discloses incipient leprosy, and they have been exposed. Suspense builds up as the mystery unfolds under questioning and cross-examination.

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THE EMERGING JAPANESE SUPERSTATE: Challenge and Response

by Herman Kahn

Prentice-Hall, 274 pp., $7.95

THE JAPANESE CHALLENGE

by Robert Guillain translated from the French by Patrick O'Brian

Lippincott, 352 pp., $8.50

Reviewed by Henry Rosovsky

■ During the late 1940s and early 1950s, before "futurology" had been elevated to its present status of a pseudo-science, most predictions concerning the economic and social future of Japan were pessimistic. Both Japanese and foreign observers tended to be obsessed by the defeat and devastation the country suffered in World War II, and even more by what seemed to be Japan's obvious natural disadvantage: a large population living in a land with sparse resources. We may feel that the errors of twenty years ago are unimportant, but I believe this would be wrong. The old forecasts erred because the majority of analysts extrapolated their picture of the future from current trends. Thus they grossly underestimated the gains made possible by rapid technological progress, which rendered Japan's resource endowment relatively insignificant and turned her large and educated labor force into a competitive advantage.

When I read what is being said now concerning Japan's future, it seems to me that we are again in danger of viewing tomorrow in the framework of today. Herman Kahn, author of *The Emerging Japanese Superstate* and dean of American futurologists, declares that the twenty-first century will be Japan's, that by the year 2000 Japan will in all probability have the largest gross national product in the world, that she will surpass even the United States in industrial productivity and standard of living, etc. And Robert Guillain, permanent correspondent for *Le Monde* in Tokyo, is equally extravagent in his new book, *The Japanese Challenge*: "In the West we are still too apt to look upon the Japanese as people who are coming along behind us on the road of progress, people who are still held back and handicapped by the remoteness and the strangeness of their islands. In short, we think of them as people who are doing their best to catch up with us, but who find it rather hard. But this is no longer true at all. They have overtaken us and gone on ahead."

Although I can see no basis for claiming that the Japanese have already overtaken us, it is certainly possible that they may do so by the year 2000. The prediction, however, relies on some crucial assumptions. For the past twenty years the Japanese economy has been expanding at the unprecedented rate of slightly over 10 per cent per year. That of most of the rest of the world has been growing much more slowly, on average at about one-half the Japanese pace. Even if Japanese growth slows down, there can be no question—as Kahn rightly points out—of her status as a major industrial nation or world power. To achieve the number one position, however, she will have to continue her present "economic miracle" for another thirty years or so. Somehow it is harder to believe she will.

What is at issue can be expressed most clearly in the perspective of modern Japanese history. Between the Meiji Restoration of 1868 and World War II, Japan developed at great speed, but there were other countries that had done nearly as well *e.g.*, the United States, Sweden, and Germany. Since World War II the Japanese have left most of the competition far behind. The key question is: Do the years from the early 1950s into the 1970s represent a transitory phase, in which economic and social factors were unusually favorable for economic growth, or will these factors sustain a "miracle" of fifty years' duration?

Kahn's interesting volume follows the method of previous Hudson Institute studies concerned with the future. He reviews the past and the present in an introductory chapter, adds a chapter on Japan's national character, devotes two chapters to the postwar economic miracle and possible "scenarios" for economic development up to the end of this century, and concludes with two chapters on "The Emerging Japanese Superstate" and "The Japanese Challenge."

It is impossible to summarize the arguments in a book so rich with conclusions and *obiter dicta*. Nevertheless, the following is, I think, a fair representation of Mr. Kahn's major beliefs: 1) Japan will be the number one economy in the world by the year 2000. 2) Between now and A.D. 2000 the Japanese economy will grow at an average rate of over 9 per cent per year. 3) The Japanese have consciously selected the target year 2000 for surpassing the most advanced Western countries. 4) "There is beginning to develop among the Japanese an almost manic enthusiasm for completing their self-appointed task of surpassing the West. To a remarkable degree, this enthusiasm is missed by many Western observers." 5) "Upon examining many of the social trends and cultural changes occurring in Japan, one finds they seem far more likely to reinforce the momentum of economic growth than to hurt it.... In some ways nothing succeeds like success—at least for a time." 6) All of the negative influences on Japanese economic growth so frequently stressed by Western experts are overstated or uncertain in their effects. 7) NOCPA (Non-Communist Pacific Asia) will become the economic equivalent of the old "co-prosperity sphere." 8) "The 'new Mediterranean' [the Pacific Basin] ... might well be in the twenty-first century the creative center of the post-industrial culture and civilization: a true world-wide cosmopolitan culture that would put Europe and Africa into a peripheral position." 9) The Japanese challenge is the issue of her "proper place" in this new world. 10) "In the next two decades certain political and security goals will continue to bind together Japan and the United States.... it is now obvious that the United States has opted for an arrangement by which American might and Japanese economic power will be combined to rule the Pacific area." 11) The Japanese are full of confidence while the West seems to be losing its nerve.

Within the confines of this review I cannot comment on all these assertions —and many more might have been listed. Instead, I will restrict myself to a few more general observations. In the first instance, one's confidence in Kahn's views is slightly undermined by his highly idiosyncratic historical observations. For example, I think that most Japanese historians would be astonished to read that Tokugawa farmers tended *on the average* to be somewhat better off financially than the samurai, that Dutch studies (*rangaku*) were clandestine, or that *mabiki* (infanticide) was common in rural Japan at the time of the Restoration. People who have lived in Japan may be equally surprised by the statement that if a child continuously misbehaves his wrist is often burned with moxa, or that the frequency of abortions is explained by a reluctance on the part of the population to use drugs.

Kahn's analyses are also characterized by sweeping statements and casual empiricism. To take just one typical example, we are told quite categorically that Japanese are extremely offhand about written documents. While Americans insist on a careful examination of

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records and contracts, Japanese are more concerned about the "ambience of the situation," "the present and past emotional background of a relationship," etc. Kahn provides some evidence for this view, but it is far too easy to cite counter-examples. The following passage from a recent RAND Corporation study (G. R. Hall and R. E. Johnson, *Aircraft Co-Production and Procurement Strategy*, 1967) should make clear what I mean:

> The Japanese take specification figures seriously, regarding them as inviolate, while the American aerospace industry takes a more pragmatic approach, regarding them as goals for which to strive. If a part or component performs satisfactorily, a U.S. firm is apt to accept it whether or not it meets specifications precisely; a Japanese firm is not. The predominant U.S. view is that most specifications are tighter than necessary. A Japanese firm, on the other hand, will be most displeased with a part that fails to meet specifications, even when it performs satisfactorily.

So, who is uptight about the written word now?

More important for an evaluation of Kahn's predictions is the question of his methodology. Here I am unable to discern any over-all framework, theory, or clearly stated behavioral relations. Kahn seems to have little faith in rigorous econometric and input-output projections, and he may well be right. Instead, he substitutes a listing of various strategic quantitative and qualitative factors whose probable impact is then evaluated. The system, however, is never really "closed" and one can too easily disagree with the weights attached to individual factors or to projections concerning their future path. In other words, we can without difficulty continue to differ about the year 2000.

Let me illustrate this by briefly discussing two factors that Kahn would dismiss as overstated or uncertain in their impact on Japan's growth some ten or fifteen years from now: the possibilities of continued rapid technological progress and the effects of relatively greater social investments.

Everyone agrees that postwar economic development in Japan has relied on the inflow and absorption of foreign (primarily American and German) technology. There seems to be general agreement on the following additional points: that in the 1950s and 1960s Japan lagged behind the technological leaders, that since the middle 1960s this technological gap has been rapidly growing smaller, that Japanese business is now making great efforts through increased research and development expenditures to create its own advanced technology. I agree with Kahn when he says, "If and when Japanese government research and development programs become very big, one can confidently predict that Japanese research and development will in many ways be comparable to that of the United States and the Soviet Union."

Yet, it seems to me that the long-run implications of the present situation are frequently misunderstood. I can see many reasons for believing that Japan will in the coming decades create numerous significant and profitable technological advances. No doubt Japan will also continue to avail herself of progress made elsewhere. There is, however, a fundamental difference between closing a gap (or eliminating a lag) and depending on the extension of a domestic or foreign technological frontier. In the former case one can—if other conditions are right—proceed at great speed. Gains can accrue in a relatively short time. In the latter case one may face serious bottlenecks. The technological frontier is inevitably surrounded by uncertainties, hesitations, and false starts (soon an element of "cheapness" in Japanese development may disappear). It would be fruitless to attempt to quantify the effect of Japan's attaining technological parity sometime in the 1970s. On balance, however, it seems to me clear that reaching this point will make continued extraordinarily high-speed growth more difficult.

What about the consequences of a growing proportion of social investments? Over the past twenty years the Japanese have accumulated an impressive list of what they call "agonies of a growing economy." The best known of these is the lag in social overhead capital. Measured in terms of number of rooms per person, diffusion of water supply and sewage, ratio of paved roads, or area of city parks, Japan falls sadly behind countries with which she likes to compare herself. Modern economic growth has also led to an ever more unpleasant and dangerous set of public hazards or nuisances. To understand the problem, one only needs to know that Japan has the largest per-area gross national product in the world. More economic activity takes place in less space than in any other country, and the consequences in terms of noise, water, and air pollution are not hard to imagine. The Japanese are acutely aware of this, and "growth at any cost" has now become a dirty word.

"Take back what you said about my motorcycle!"

Kahn does not seem to believe that correcting these conditions will have much of an impact on Japan's economic performance, but I think that in reaching this conclusion he does not sufficiently examine the nature of the problem and the impact of public expenditures on private investment.

The agonies and benefits of growth are related to different aspects of the economy. Benefits are closely correlated with the level of income per capita: other things being equal, the richest countries have the highest standards of living. Agonies or adverse side-effects also bear some relation to the level of income. However, they are equally closely tied to the rate of income growth, the progress of technology, and to a variety of non-economic factors, such as geography. I have not made a systematic comparison of Japan with the rest of the industrialized world. Nevertheless, it seems to me that Japanese-style growth has produced a lengthy and worrisome list of adverse side-effects at comparatively low levels of income per capita. Partly this can be ascribed to the speed of economic development—no doubt the lag in social overhead capital was in some measure due to the steep rise in demand for low-paid services. Partly it is a consequence of resources and physical configuration—air and water pollution are more severe because of population concentration and enforced reliance on certain types of fuel. When Western Europe and the United States were at Japanese levels of income, one heard rather little concerning these unpleasant side-effects. True, another historical era was involved, society was organized along different lines, and current social priorities were as yet insignificant. It is also true that the

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difficulties at these lower levels were less severe in the United States and Europe: in the United States the vastness of our country allowed more leeway, and in Europe both the slower pace of growth and an earlier start permitted some problems to be postponed. But, whatever the reasons, we come back to the same conclusion: Japan faces the so-called agonies of growth at lower levels of income per capita than her predecessors in the development race—and postponement of solutions may be neither possible nor desirable.

Japanese planners are well aware of the trade-off issues posed by these problems. In simple terms, the following propositions hold: the lower the rate of interest, the higher the rate of expansion of private investment and economic growth; the more public investments and social expenditures, the better the quality of life; the lighter the "people's burden" (taxes, etc.), the greater their consumption. Unfortunately, it is not possible simultaneously to lower interest rates, to increase social expenditures, and to cut taxes. All these factors are interrelated, and they all affect the rate of growth of aggregate output. If needed improvement is to come about in the quantity and quality of social overhead investment, the ratio of social expenditures to GNP will have to rise. To achieve this aim, either the rate of interest will have to rise in order to curb private investments, which will reduce the rate of economic growth, or the burdens of the population will have to be increased, as with heavier taxes, thereby reducing the level of private consumption. (This could also have an adverse effect on growth, although probably of a lesser magnitude.)

Undoubtedly these trade-offs have been stated in naïve form. An improvement of the social overhead capital stock should raise the efficiency of private investment. Other types of social expenditures may favorably affect labor force quality. Offsetting possibilities, however, are not likely to change the net trade-offs: the choice of the future lies in curbing either private investment or private consumption. It is this latter alternative that I find especially difficult to imagine as Japanese policy, for it would entail asking the population to make consumption sacrifices while their income per capita was still low. This is just the period when desires for more and better consumption are great, and they are growing greater. Japan is on the threshhold of becoming a mass-consumption society, a time when no politician in or out of office will advocate a large dose of austerity on behalf of the public good.

Any curb on private investment will exact a price in terms of the aggregate rate of growth. Using a very simple model, the Economic Planning Agency suggests that a 5-per-cent increase in fiscal expenditures, with the tax burden unchanged and a 0.6-per-cent rise in interest rates, might reduce the real growth rate by 3 per cent per year. Admittedly this is an extreme case, but it does put the issue in perspective.

Unlike Dr. Kahn, I believe the two themes that have been stressed are correct: 1) that there are certain factors inherent in a higher level of economic maturity which will make it increasingly difficult for Japan to maintain a real annual growth rate of 9 or 10 per cent, and 2) that a government-financed improvement in the quality of life will have the same result. I find no cause for pessimism in these conclusions. If the rate of growth is reduced for the right reasons, Japan may not surpass us in aggregate income by the year 2000. It may, however, surpass us in aggregate happiness, and this might yet be the real meaning of the "Japanese century" when it arrives.

I would like to conclude with a few words about Robert Guillain's *The Japanese Challenge: The Race to the Year 2000*—a rather typical journalist's account of the current scene and its background. On the credit side is Guillain's obvious sympathy for and understanding of his subject matter and his talent for describing the changing socio-economic landscape and its inhabitants. Any first-time traveler to Japan, particularly a person with political and economic interests, will find this book a welcome going-away present, until a more up-to-date version is written by someone else. On the debit side, one must mention a sometimes inappropriate translation (for example, neither "the formation rate of capital" nor "double structure" are correct English terms) and some rather curious historical and economic judgments. Thus I was surprised to read that the Meiji land tax cruelly diminished the resources of the countryside, and that between 1900 and 1940 the growth of the economy was almost entirely nullified by human inflation. Japanese manufacturers will surely be flabbergasted by the statement "They do not try to make a profit out of their exports."

M. Guillain does not present the reader with a broad unifying theme. In general, however, it is clear that he agrees rather more with Dr. Kahn than with me. Both of these books are valuable additions to the Japan bookshelf, despite my feeling that they are part of a literature of euphoria that could soon be dated.

Henry Rosovsky is chairman of the Economics Department at Harvard University and a student of Japanese economic growth.

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THE POTENTATES: Business and Businessmen in American History

by Ben B. Seligman

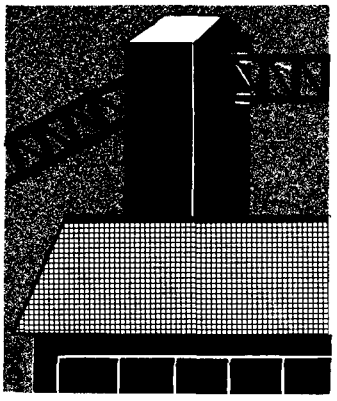
Dial, 402 pp., $10

Reviewed by Robert Lekachman

■ According to who tells the tale, American businessmen have been either the leading heroes or the outstanding villains of our national history. Writers like Allan Nevins, Louis Hacker, and John Chamberlain identify the country's economic growth with the competitive vigor and organizational ingenuity of the captains of industry. Muckrakers and radicals, from Upton Sinclair and Ida Tarbell to Matthew Josephson and Ferdinand Lundberg, have emphasized the waste, disruption, and sheer exploitation of customers, competitors, and general public which the Goulds, Morgans, Carnegies, and Rockefellers inflicted as the usual corollaries of their triumphs.

The late Ben Seligman, a veteran historian of poverty, automation, and economic ideas, here conducts readers on a brisk tour of American economic history that decidedly fails to idealize past or present businessmen. Early on, such "patriotic" merchants as Robert Morris enriched themselves provisioning the Continental armies and, more than once, withheld supplies the better to raise prices. During the Civil War the elder J. P. Morgan turned many pretty pennies by financing defective firearms destined for Union soldiers. For Seligman, chicanery, unmitigated avarice, and unrelenting egotism were the defining qualities of successful nineteenth-century businessmen.

When these magnates paused to read, their favorite doctrine was social Darwinism, a convenient blend of Darwinian evolution and competitive market theory. Led by Herbert Spencer, the social Darwinists demonstrated to their satisfaction that, in capitalist as in other jungles, only the fittest survive. Seligman retells with relish many good robber-baron anecdotes about these predators. He reminds us of the pious elder Rockefeller, who never flagged either in private charity or in determination to obliterate commercial rivals by any method necessary. And even today Seligman's sketch of Henry Ford's ignorance, anti-Semitism, and totalitarian managerial methods is chilling. Ford amply deserved the Iron Cross which the grateful Nazis awarded him in 1938.



Other twentieth-century capitalists come off little better. The financial scandals featured in the 1907 panic were followed by oil thefts and the gaudy stock market manipulations that preceded and intensified the Great Crash. Seligman's implicit question is inevitable: How much did these buccaneers really contribute to the general welfare?

The true contributors, Seligman's heroes, are the makers, the inventors and designers who created American technology and flooded the market with cheap, mass-produced goods. Far too often the speculators have bested the constructors. Seligman is haunted by the conflict, stressed by Thorstein

George C. Scott

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Veblen, between business enterprise as a system of financial manipulation and machine technology as a rational way to do the world's work.

As he approaches the 1970s, Seligman radiates gloom about the outcome of the argument between paper shufflers and technologists. His somber final chapter, "The Age of Space," is dominated by American business's contemporary shortcomings. No doubt the alliance between big business and big government signalized by Comsat, the space program, and the SST has enriched a few businessmen, helped a few unionists, and financed a few electoral campaigns. But for the environment, SST promises further pollution. The government-business alliance has been most efficient in diverting funds and attention from acute issues of poverty, race, and income inequality to defense scares and space spectaculars. It has become commonplace to substitute circuses for bread.

Yet *The Potentates* halts a step short of a verdict of failure for American business. Time is short, however. If, in the next decade or so, American business does not promote a more appealing society and a more wholesome environment, failure will be the universal judgment upon a ruling class that has made itself wealthy, benefited many middle Americans, but signally failed to convince the young, the black, the poor, and the intellectuals that the system it operates is worth preserving. One warning is the reluctance of the young to work for large corporations. When bright college graduates lose faith in their society's dominant institution, that institution transforms itself or declines. Except at extremely favorable odds, I should not place a heavy bet upon the corporate capacity to renew itself.

Robert Lekachman is professor of economics at the State University of New York at Stony Brook.

LITERARY I. Q. ANSWERS

1 I, 2G, 3H, 4K, 5L, 6J, 7C, 8A, 9E, 10 D, 11 F, 12B.

MOSES OF THE NEW WORLD: The Work of Baron de Hirsch

by Samuel J. Lee

Yoseloff, 313 pp., $8.50

Reviewed by Paul Kresh

■ Now that the Rothschilds have achieved immortality in their own Broadway musical, it would seem appropriate enough to call our attention next to Baron Maurice de Hirsch, a rival Jewish millionaire and philanthropist ("once the most talked-about banker of the nineteenth century") who had the dream of resettling the persecuted Jews of Russia on farms in the Argentine. Samuel J. Lee warns at the outset that his informative book "can in no sense be considered a biography," because "as happens so frequently when attempts are made to write the story of a great man, there is little known of the intimate, everyday happenings of a lifetime occupied with great undertakings." Instead, the author has sought to assemble the facts about his subject "in the context of the period." This makes, at times, for fascinating reading, but it also drives Mr. Lee into corners of the kind parodists of biographical prose adore lampooning: "Moritz von Hirsch first saw the light of day on December 9, 1831, in Munich, the windswept capital of the ancient Kingdom of Bavaria," followed by many pages telling us all about Munich but little or nothing of Moritz. In fact, even before the baron is allowed to see "the light of day" we have to get through a couple of hard-puffing chapters offering a capsule history of anti-Semitism over a thousand dismal years. Once the story of a "lifetime occupied with great undertakings" gets going, however, it is absorbing.

Moritz von Hirsch was the scion of a Jewish family in Bavaria that had gained wealth, respect, and status as the age-old restrictions against Jews were lifted in a period of enlightenment. His grandfather, Jacob Hirsch, a

Baron de Hirsch—"icy skepticism."

devout and prosperous trader, was raised to noble rank by royal decree after organizing and equipping a Bavarian Regiment that helped drive Napoleon's armies out of Germany during the 1813-1815 war. Moritz's father had entered the family's banking establishment at eighteen, and was able to give his son a solid education, which he was sent off to Brussels to complete. There Moritz von Hirsch became Maurice de Hirsch, and married Clara Bischoffsheim, the daughter of a railway magnate.

In his pursuit of wealth de Hirsch became involved with the governments of Turkey and Austria in a scheme to build a railroad from Constantinople to Vienna. Already the talk of Europe (he had dared to cross Bismarck in an earlier railroad deal), the baron rushed about two continents having audiences with kings, pashas, and sultans, floated "lottery bonds," provoked the wrath of the Rothschilds by his tactics, and finally formed his own company to lay the tracks, getting himself totally embroiled in international politics. At one point the Sultan of Turkey was so exasperated by de Hirsch's methods that he wanted to have him executed. But build the railroad the baron did, all 2,000 kilometers of it, and was $3-million the richer for his efforts.

When the curtain goes up on the next chapter, Maurice and his level-headed wife, settling down to a life of social-climbing, are entertaining the Prince

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of Wales at their mansion in Paris. Snubbed by the Jockey Club, Maurice buys their palace and turns it into a stable for his horses. Clara, like a character in a Jewish *Forsyte Saga*, dispenses charity on a grand and gracious scale. Then their only son, Lucien, dies at thirty-two, and Maurice, who has never set foot in a synagogue and believes that the only future for Jews lies in assimilation, decides to give away all his money to alleviate their sufferings. Just at this moment—in 1891—the Russians, with superb timing, begin a new and more relentless persecution of the Jews in their territory. De Hirsch tries to use his wealth and prestige to rescue and resettle them on farms in Argentina. Thousands of Russian Jews make the exodus; but the plan as a whole is ill-fated; de Hirsch's dream of turning his co-religionists into tillers of the soil just doesn't work out. They prefer life in Buenos Aires.

In 1895 Theodor Herzl, the founder of Zionism, visited Maurice de Hirsch, the confirmed anti-Zionist, with a plea that the baron look eastward to Palestine for Jewish salvation. The author writes movingly of their encounter—the baron all icy skepticism, the founder of the Jewish state all impulse and arrogance. De Hirsch sent Herzl off to compose a memorandum on the matter, which turned out to be the pivotal Zionist paper, "The Jewish State." But the baron, whom it might have swayed toward the Zionist cause, had meanwhile died in London, at the age of sixty-five, and never read it.

Mr. Lee, a Canadian-born Jewish historian, handles his material in a manner that is factual to a fault. Yet the romance of a career pursued among princes in enterprises of moment brims with a vitality that cannot be quenched. And every now and then the reader is afforded a profoundly human glimpse of this "Moses of the New World," as when, midway through the book, and with no previous warning, the author remarks that the upright baron had sired two illegitimate sons. There must have been more behind those well-waxed mustaches than met the eye!

Baron de Hirsch's dream of a Jewish utopia in the Argentine was indeed doomed; but his money, dispensed through the Baron de Hirsch Fund, helped to resettle Jewish refugees from his native Germany a generation later. He was a man of enlightened and liberal views—a prototype of the Reform Jews who were to shift the emphasis of Judaism from ritual to social action. He believed that Jews would flourish if only they looked and talked and acted like the people around them, if they freed themselves from the cities and sought the soil, if they observed their religion without attracting attention or alienating themselves from the rest of the human race. He thought anti-Semitism would go away when Jews assimilated and stopped demanding their "rights" from gentiles. (It's a mercy he never lived to see what happened to the Jews of his native land who tried to put that theory into practice.) Above all, he believed that philanthropy must be used to make its recipients self-reliant and self-respecting.

Mr. Lee, as he forewarns us at the outset, is not able to bring Maurice de Hirsch to real life or magnify him to anywhere near the size of a Moses, but he does sketch a portrait of a conscientious, honest, cultivated man against the background of his time. The rest is up to the songwriter and librettist, who, for all I know, may even now be getting ready to mount the name of the "Moses of the New World" in lucrative lights on the Street of Dreams.

Paul Kresh, vice-president of Spoken Arts, Inc., writes and directs the weekly award-winning radio series "Adventures in Judaism."

BETWEEN CAPITALISM AND SOCIALISM:
Essays in Political Economics

by Robert L. Heilbroner

Random House, 294 pp., $7.95

Reviewed by Spencer Pollard

■ In this collection of articles, essays, and reviews Robert L. Heilbroner carries on brilliantly in the tradition of Adam Smith, John Stuart Mill, and Karl Marx as a master of political economy. He much prefers that branch of economics to the newer mathematical approach, about which he comments—too pessimistically—that while it has "rigor" it also has "mortis."

The advantage to the lay reader is obvious and great. Dr. Heilbroner says that the problem he is trying to solve is "where we are in history." All of us want to know that, even though the answer may be "at the end." He is looking, in his own words, for "a theory of social evolution in which a core of economic dynamics would be systematically related to social and political change (which in turn would feed back on the economic process)."

Along this road Dr. Heilbroner has found some beautiful flowers. He quotes Oscar Wilde, who said that democratic socialism "would take too

(*Continued on page 72*)

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The Bookworm

by ISAAC ASIMOV

I was a bookworm when I was young. I knew I was, and I even knew a few others, but there weren't many of us. Most of our fellows viewed this vice of ours with contempt, but we didn't care. The delight we found in books was too great to give up, whatever disgrace it brought us.

We were hooked, and nothing must stand in our way. A friend, speaking of her own bookwormish childhood, told me: "My poor mother used to go out of her mind. Whenever mealtime came, I always yelled back, 'Wait until I finish this chapter,' and then, half the time, I would cheat and start the next chapter."

I was awed. "I could never have done that," I said. "In my family, no delays in meals were permitted. When food was on the table, you had to be there."

"Oh, you poor thing," she said. "What did you do?"

"I just brought my book to the table and read while I ate."

"Really? We weren't allowed to read at meals."

Odd, wasn't it, that each of us had probed the dam of parental discipline for weak points—and found them? If reading at the table was forbidden, one delayed coming to the table; if delays were forbidden, one read at the table. Either way, one read.

What if delays at meals were strictly forbidden and reading at meals were also forbidden? I suppose we would have vanished periodically into the attic, or a tree-house, or the vacant lot some blocks away. Or run away from home.

In any case, we would have read.

And do we have bookworms now? Of course. They are not very visible; but then, we were always a minority.

Nowadays we're far outnumbered by the teleworms and the sonoworms, those sad little kids who don't want to eat because their favorite TV program is on, or their favorite record. They keep their eyes glued to the picture tube, or walk around with a transistor radio propped against one ear.

The same thing? Of course not! Are the teleworms and sonoworms of today the kids who would have been bookworms in days gone by? Never!

Rock-and-roll, and all the other weird grunts and squeals, are information deserts. They fill to repletion only minds of small capacity like the sonoworms', and the sounds that echo within the dim cranial caverns are but pap and gruel. There just isn't enough there to provide the feast the bookworm demands.

The teleworm, on the other hand, receives too much information. Eye and ear together are constantly glutted, and, despite McLuhan, who needs all that? To be given the picture as well as the words is to be given a crossword puzzle with all the empty boxes filled in. It is to be given a jigsaw puzzle carefully put together. It is to be given a murder mystery with the solution printed in detail in the margin of the first page.

Only a book will satisfy the kind of intricate and subtle child-mind that goes into the making of a bookworm.

A book gives you the words you need, to be read and reread when you choose—in bed, at the table, or sprawled on the floor, and how you choose—lingeringly, racingly, steadily, in bits and pieces. Most of all, it gives you words to which you fit the pictures you conjure up in your own mind.

You know what D'Artagnan looks like, and Black Michael, and Jo March, and they are *your* D'Artagnan, *your* Black Michael, *your* Jo March—your private property, your very own for life.

Yes, there are still bookworms, and there will always be bookworms, because nothing will ever be invented like a book—to give you just enough and never too little or too much, to give you a whole universe for yourself alone.

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by ZENA SUTHERLAND

The Apple and the Moth. *By Iela and Enzo Mari. Pantheon.* 38 *pp.* $3.95. Vivid green and brilliant scarlet combine with black and white to tell a story in pictures for the child too young to read. The apple hangs on the bough, ripening from green to red. A cutaway picture shows a tiny spot that grows into a larva, which eats its way out of the fruit, spins a cocoon, and rocks in the breeze. Then a lovely moth emerges, finds an apple blossom, and lays an egg. The reproductive cycle is made perfectly clear. This book and its companion, *The Chicken and the Egg,* are among many textless volumes that have appeared in the last year or two. Few of them, however, are nonfiction, and few are as handsome as *The Apple and the Moth.* Ages 3-5.

The Creation. *Text from the Jerusalem Bible. Illustrated by Jo Spier. Doubleday.* 26 *pp.* $3.95. This pictorial representation of the first seven days spans the millennia, with dinosaurs and a circus act appearing simultaneously. The illustrations have a naïve charm: delicate in detail and softly colored, they present a vision of Instant Abundance that is almost childlike, and is admirably suited to the patterned simplicity of the *Jerusalem Bible*'s style. Ages 5-9.

The Something. *Written and illustrated by Natalie Babbitt. Farrar, Straus & Giroux.* 38 *pp.* $2.95. Bucktoothed, wart-nosed, hairy of torso, Milo is an engaging little step on the evolutionary ladder. His mother (also hairy, but with curlers at the temples) is a timeless understanding parent. Milo is afraid in the night. Of what? He doesn't know, just a Something. His mother buys him some modeling clay to divert him, and Milo potters about until he has created the perfect Something. Concrete now, the Something appears in his dream, and tells Milo she wishes he'd get out of *her* dream. No longer afraid, Milo casually informs his mother that he has lost interest in his clay. The pictures are diverting (the concept of the dreaded Something as a pretty girl should amuse children), and the nuances of dealing with a nameless fear are subtle. Ages 4-6.

A Bargain for Frances. *By Russell Hoban. Illustrated by Lillian Hoban. Harper & Row.* 62 *pp.* $2.50. Well, a girl certainly has problems as she grows up. Frances, most delightful of small feminine badgers, is tricked by her friend Thelma into buying an old toy tea set, and she tricks Thelma in turn. Thelma reproaches, Frances forces the moment of truth: "Do you want to be careful, or do you want to be friends?" Thelma chooses friendship, and Frances promptly reciprocates by sharing a dime. The pictures are engaging, the story has a sunny charm, and the book is delightful both to read aloud to the very young and for independent readers. Ages 6-8.

In a Beaver Valley: How Beavers Change the Land. *Text and photographs by Laurence Pringle. World.* 44 *pp.* $4.95. One of a series of books designed "to acquaint young children with the interrelationships which exist among living things and their environment," this describes the damming of a stream by a beaver lodge, the subsequent development of a pond community,

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ISAAC ASIMOV's childhood as a voracious reader has been followed by a career as a prolific writer. His books for children and adults range the spectrum of knowledge from modern science to biblical history.

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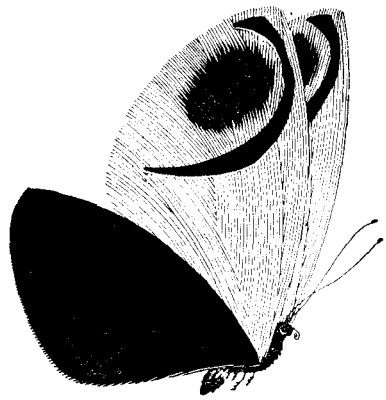
and the further ecological changes when the lodge is deserted and disintegrates. The pictures and the text stress both the esthetic appeal of nature and the many signs of wildlife (gnawed trees, animal tracks, half-eaten plants) that may encourage investigation. Intended for very young children, the book can be read aloud to them, but it seems more appropriate for the independent readers. Ages 7-9.

We Lived in the Almont. *By Eleanor Clymer. Illustrated by David K. Stone. Dutton.* 102 *pp.* $3.95. Linda had hated the decrepit tenement where her father was superintendent, and she was thrilled when they moved to the Almont. It was an old building, but the apartment was sunny and she had her own room, the neighborhood was nicer than the old one, and—best of all—the family atmosphere was more relaxed. Linda envied the luxury apartment in which her new friend Sharon lived, but not Sharon's poor-little-rich-girl life. Her own home was comfortable, and the tenants of the Almont a source of fascinating conjecture. The book ends with the demolition of the building, a punctuation mark that follows an experience rather than a story. There is no lack of action, however, and the first-person narrative is remarkably vivid, especially in its depiction of the slight seediness of the Almont and its occupants. Ages 9-11.

For Me to Say: Rhymes of the Never Was and Always Is. *By David McCord. Illustrated by Henry B. Kane. Little, Brown.* 100 *pp.* $4.50. One of the reasons David McCord is so successful a writer of children's poetry is that he has a relish for fun and games which is like the child's own. Yet he is a sophisticated master of his craft, and the poems in this collection, though light, are polished. Some are on such important matters as breakfast, Santa Claus, or rain, and some merely play with words. One section, "Write Me Another Verse," shows by example and instruction various verse forms. Pleasantly illustrated, the book is great fun to read aloud—in fact, it's hard not to. Ages 9-11.

Boy in a Barn. *By Ursula Moray Williams. Illustrated by Terence Dalley. Nelson.* 128 *pp.* $3.95. The Harding children had been brought up on their father's story of the old Austrian woman who kept him hidden in her barn after his plane crashed during World War II. Now, twenty years later, they come to the mountain village, only to find that "Father's Frau" is too old to remember. But when young James Harding is by chance stranded in the village alone and takes refuge in the barn, the old woman thinks she is back in the past and tries to protect him. The device of having a child on his own because his parents think he is with other adults (who in turn think he has rejoined his family) is not new, but Ursula Williams brings it off with flair. Her characters are convincing and their dialogue natural, and her writing is tight and vigorous. Ages 10-12.

The Marvelous Misadventures of Sebastian. *By Lloyd Alexander. Dutton.* 204 *pp.* $5.95. In the imaginary principality of Hamelin-Loring, in the eighteenth-century world of pompous aristocratic life and boisterous Hogarthian poverty, the young Fourth Fiddler, Sebastian, loses his court position and goes off into the world with only his violin. He acquires a friend, the evasive Mr. Nicholas, very much a Scarlet Pimpernel; together they guard a runaway princess whose circumlocutory speech barely disguises her growing affection for the hero. Most important of all, Sebastian is given a magical violin that inexplicably stirs and troubles him. Although the tale is heavily embroidered and the characters almost caricatures, the articulate and vivid writing pulls together the threads of picaresque action, humor, chicanery, social commentary, and romance into an intricate and lively whole. Ages 10-12.



—From "The Apple and the Moth"

True Stories from the Moscow Zoo. *By Vera Chaplina. Translated from the Russian by Estelle Titiev and Lila Pargment. Prentice-Hall.* 152 *pp.* $3.95. Vera Chaplina began work at the Moscow Zoo when she was fourteen, became chief of the wild animals section, and retired in 1946. Her memories of some of the particularly engaging creatures, or those who were particularly troublesome, are permeated with affection. Although the direct and unassuming writing has no trace of sentimentality, it lacks the humor found in most books by animal lovers. The story of the lion cub that was raised at home and later taken to the zoo, already told in *Kinuli* (Walck, $3), is included here, perhaps because Kinuli is the most publicized of the author's pets. Ages 10-13.

Ballet: A Pictorial History. *By Walter Terry. Illustrated with prints and photographs. Van Nostrand Reinhold.* 64 *pp.* $5.95. The first ballet commanded by Catherine de Medici in 1591 inaugurated a century of royal patronage of the art, and Paris remained its focal point for three hundred years. With the advent of professional ballet came the emergence of the great ballerinas, the classic ballets, and leading parts for male dancers. Reviewing Russian ballet and contemporary companies, Walter Terry discusses primarily the dancers themselves, although he mentions companies and choreographers. The print is uncomfortably small, but the book serves as an excellent introduction. The text has an easy conversational tone, and the photographs are alluring. Ages 10-14.

Blowfish Live in the Sea. *By Paula Fox. Bradbury.* 116 *pp.* $4.50. Years ago, Ben's father had sent him a dried blowfish, writing that he had found it in the Amazon. Ben checked. His father had lied: blowfish live only in salt water. So Ben's distinctive graffitto became "Blowfish live in the sea," and it was only after he left home that his small half-sister Carrie learned why. This is the story of Ben and Carrie's trip to Boston to meet Donald Felix, Ben's wandering father, a seedy, pathetic man who is as nervous as Ben about the encounter. Carrie tells the story, and, since she adores her brother, she resists the realization that for Ben, chafing under the conventional atmosphere of their home, the disreputable Felix represents both escape and the renewal of a bond. The writing is light and adroit, the characterization compelling, and the relationships acutely drawn, particularly the love between brother and sister and the bittersweet reunion of father and son. Ages 11-14.

The Prince in Waiting. *By John Christopher. Macmillan.* 182 *pp.* $4.95. Like the people who inhabit Peter Dickinson's England, the characters in this first enticing volume of a science-fiction trilogy have survived man's destruction of his own civilization. Living in an almost feudal society, they abhor machines. Luke becomes the heir-apparent of one of the city-states, his destiny foretold by the Seers, who interpret the will of the Spirits that control men's lives. When his father is killed by a treacherous ally, Luke is taken by a Seer to the Sanctuary (Stonehenge), where in an underground colony the High Seers use all the tabooed electric and electronic devices. Someday, they tell the boy, the network of Seers will engineer a return to the lost civilization, an event in which Luke is to play an important role. The book is written in a taut style, and the suspenseful ending creates an appetite for volume two. Ages 11-14.

I Am Third. *By Gale Sayers with Al Silverman. Viking.* 238 *pp.* $6.95. It wasn't until he was a high-school senior that Gale Sayers encountered racial discrimination. He had every reason to expect that he would be chosen Athlete of the Year, having set track and football records and made the All-America Team; but instead a white boy was picked. This would have been hard enough for any youngster to take, but for one so fiercely competitive it was a real blow. Sayers is as outspoken about his desire to be top man as he is about his athletic prowess, his marriage, and his fellow players. He wears a medallion that states "I am third," based on a motto that impressed him: "The Lord is first, my friends are second, and I am third." Football is Sayers's paramount interest, and to him the most important incident of his life is clearly his knee injury, to which a great part of the book is devoted. The writing is informal but humorless, the occasional complacency alleviated by freshets of critical self-examination. For young adults.

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Capitalism and Socialism

Continued from page 69

many evenings." And in an essay called "The Eye of the Needle" Heilbroner concludes brightly:

> If the rich man—or better yet, the rich society—finally wins admission to heaven, I suspect it will be not because capitalists have pure hearts, but because scientists will have succeeded in breeding exceptionally thin and agile camels, and because technology has succeeded in making needles with very large and very wide eyes.

Aye, those are the golden lads and girls in Dr. Heilbroner's book: the scientists and technologists.

> In like manner, the technicians, scientists, planners, etc., who constitute the vanguard of the society of the future, today have no independently formulated conceptions of society and are happy to lend themselves to the ends specified by their capitalist masters. But the divergence of their long-term train of thought from that of the businessman is plain enough. In the long run the ascendant élites within capitalism are not themselves capitalist in mentality or outlook, and will slowly incline society toward that deliberate application of intelligence to social problems that is characteristic of their professional commitment. As they do so, the role of the state will rise and that of business shrink. Like all such great processes, the course of events cannot be tidily predicted. The change may require several decades, perhaps even generations, before becoming crystal-clear. But I suggest that the direction of change is already established beyond peradventure of doubt.

What will this new intelligence direct us to do? First of all, we shall try for an optimum GNP rather than a maximum. As in Kenneth Boulding's "spaceship economy," we shall produce carefully, in full recognition of the ecology of output and consumption.

And Mammon will be dead. Dr. Heilbroner writes:

> Free industrial growth is just as disastrous for the Western nations as free population growth for those of the East and South. The worship in the West of a growing Gross National Product must be recognized as not only a deceptive but a very dangerous avatar; Kenneth Boulding has begun a campaign, in which I shall join him, to label this statistical monster Gross National Cost [*i.e.*, the cost of living like this].

There would also be changes in our foreign policy:

> First it would call for an immediate halt to military aid to reactionary régimes and for a cessation of clandestine activity against revolutionary movements. Second, it would require an acceptance of some form of revolutionary nationalist socialism as the political and economic order most suited to guide many developing nations in their desperately hard initial stages of change. Third, it would permit the continuation of humanitarian programs of food and medical aid, as well as technical assistance of a nonmilitary kind, for all governments, revolutionary or not, provided that reasonable standards of international behavior were met.

Will the capitalists accept all this? They'd better, Dr. Heilbroner concludes. It will be a lot nicer for them than nothing. Besides, as Kenneth Galbraith has pointed out in an article in *New York* magazine ("Nixon's New Socialism," September 21, 1970), businessmen themselves have been pressing for more government investment in the railroads, the aircraft companies, and the securities industry. Thus "right socialism" joins "left socialism"; perhaps the resultant system should be called "social capitalism."

Dr. Heilbroner makes it difficult for a reviewer to do the thing he is supposed to do—criticize. All that can be said is that the writing in this book is strong and clear, the subject central to our concerns, and the suggestions electric. Any book by Milton Friedman may be taken as a chaser.

Spencer Pollard is professor of economics at the University of Southern California in Los Angeles.

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THE ALEPH AND OTHER STORIES 1933-1969

by Jorge Luis Borges
translated from the Spanish and edited by Norman Thomas di Giovanni in collaboration with the author

Dutton, 286 pp., $7.95

Reviewed by Robert Scholes

■ If the Nobel Prize judges could forget their political juggling for a moment and really award a prize for "literature," they would be forced to acknowledge the unique achievement of Jorge Luis Borges.

Borges, now seventy, has done his best work, but he is still writing well. *The Aleph* contains fiction written from 1933 to 1969, a lengthy, charming, and informative "Autobiographical Essay," and brief commentaries by Borges on the stories included here. Some of the older pieces have appeared in English translation before, but for this volume they have been adapted for the English language by Borges himself, with the aid of Norman Thomas di Giovanni. (Borges, who has a superb command of English, calls it "a language I am unworthy to handle, a language I often wish had been my

birthright.") It is a great pity that copyright difficulties prevented the author from including some of his finest works of fiction. One can sympathize with the parties involved, but they have maintained their rights at the cost of depriving English literature of authoritative versions of "Tlön, Uqbar, Orbis Tertius," "The Garden of the Forking Paths," "Funes the Memorious," "Averroës's Search," and several other short stories.

Still, we must be grateful for what we have: the superb title story, written in 1945, and a number of good ones like "The Approach to al-Mu'tasim" (1935), which Borges regards as containing the germ of all his later work. This early piece was among his initial attempts to move from essays to fiction, and his first successful fusion of the two forms. It pretends to be an essay about a forgotten book; actually, book, author, reviews, and even the forgetting are imaginary. This unusual literary form was to become the vehicle for much of Borges's finest writing.

The fictional essay enabled Borges to put fiction and metaphysics together, producing a metafiction in which ideas could be characters and characters ideas. The imaginary book discussed in "The Approach to al-Mu'-

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tasim," for instance, is a wild, Kiplingesque adventure story with theological implications. By summarizing the plot (telling instead of showing, with a vengeance) and discussing different versions, Borges allows thoughts about the possible meaning to dominate the events narrated; at the same time, the plot summary animates the metaphysical speculations.

"The Aleph," though more fictional than essayistic, exhibits that same duality of form. It is cast in the shape of a reminiscence by an emotional, self-centered, but not odious pedant. This man has a poetical acquaintance, Carlos Argentino, who claims to have in his house, "in the cellar under the dining room," an Aleph, one of "the points in space that contains all other points"—a small, iridescent sphere in which everything in the world can be clearly seen, all at once. The skeptical scholar comes to inspect this prodigy, and the welter of images that overwhelms him is described in one of Borges's finest paragraphs, from which I quote only the very last part:

> . . . I saw tigers, pistons, bison, tides, and armies; I saw all the ants on the planet; I saw a Persian astrolabe; I saw in the drawer of a writing table (and the handwriting made me tremble) unbelievable, obscene, detailed letters, which Beatriz had written to Carlos Argentino; I saw a monument I had worshiped in the Chacarita cemetery; I saw the rotted dust and bones that had once deliciously been Beatriz Viterbo; I saw the circulation of my own dark blood; I saw the coupling of love and the modification of death; I saw the Aleph from every point and angle, and in the Aleph I saw the earth and in the earth the Aleph and in the Aleph the earth; I saw my own face and my own bowels; I saw your face; and I felt dizzy and wept, for my eyes had seen that secret and conjectured object whose name is common to all men but which no man has looked upon—the unimaginable universe.

Most of the stories in this volume are less ambitious than "The Aleph." They are more physical than metaphysical, tales of gauchos and knife-wielding tough guys. The earliest and latest of them, in fact, are two versions of the same event, a confrontation between thugs. But the first is romanticized legend, the last realistic report. Which fiction is true? Plainness and directness are the literary virtues he most admires now, says this disciple of Kafka and Chesterton. But his dark eyes twinkle with an inner light.

Robert Scholes, who is the author of "The Fabulators" and other studies of modern fiction, teaches English at Brown University.

ARFIVE

by A. B. Guthrie, Jr.

Houghton Mifflin, 278 pp., $5.95

Reviewed by David Lavender

■ Yonder where the high plains collide with the Rockies—and no other writer knows that raw land as well as does A. B. Guthrie, Jr., creator of *The Big Sky*—a cattleman named Mort Ewing built up a ranch whose brand was R 5. When a settlement took shape on his range, it adopted the same name, Arfive.

As Arfive's civic consciousness evolves, so does the novelist's theme: the paradox of man's desire for change forever frustrated by the sameness of his nature. The Breast River, once the Titty (very anatomical, those old-timers), serves as metaphor—an unvarying channel filled with ever-changing water. The passing current keeps making discoveries that seem new but are, in actuality, repetitive. The literary problem is to keep a sparkle in the flow. Despite his many skills, Mr. Guthrie does not wholly succeed.

Acting through its school board, of which rancher Ewing is a member, Arfive reaches toward social maturity by importing an outsider, Benton Collingsworth, to be principal of its new high school.

Collingsworth's test soon comes. The local madam, Eva Fox, picks up a forlorn, violated waif of fifteen, Juliet Justice, who hopes to support herself through high school by serving as a commodity in Eva's establishment. Good-hearted Eva nips that scheme after a very short budding. She bamboozles her old customer Ewing into sponsoring the child and persuading Collingsworth to accept her as a student. But when a gross deputy sheriff threatens to leak his warped version of the truth, the educational system faces disaster—a whore in the class! All is overcome, however. Julie graduates (inevitably as valedictorian), whisks on through the state university, and proposes marriage to her aging benefactor.

A dark parallel offsets this bright thread. Buoyed by Julie's success and acting on the recommendation of a respected, no-nonsense teacher, Collingsworth takes into the school another outcast, a half-Indian girl. The teacher, a lesbian, corrupts the child. Again fast thinking and fisticuffs smother the scandal, but no Eva reaches out to save the Indian girl from her long slide back into hopelessness.

So it goes: the cussedness of human-

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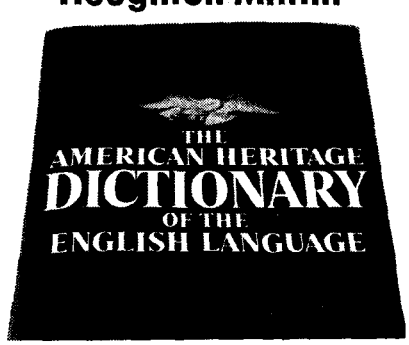

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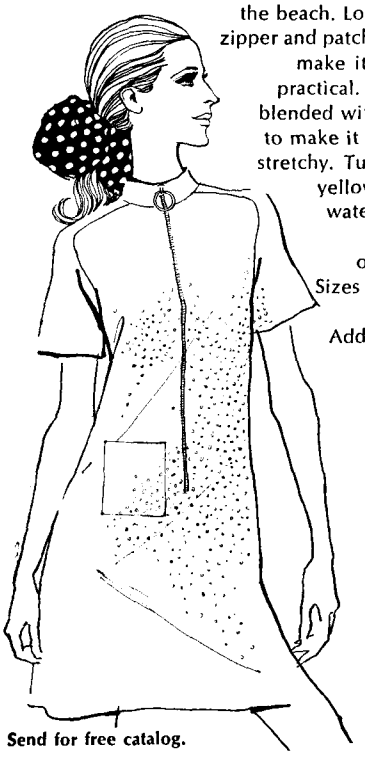

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kind emerges even as humankind aspires. Collingsworth is a particular bundle of conflicts. High-minded, he resists the storekeeper on the school board who would profit by selling supplies to the school, and the liquor dealer who would buy respectability by giving prizes for academic excellence. Collingsworth sings in the choir, imports culture via Chautauqua, becomes deeply attached to the spacious land and its humbler inhabitants. But, as his young daughter realizes, his intellectual righteousness too often checks the outflowing of true compassion. Plagued by the unresolved sexual terrors of his adolescence, Collingsworth vents himself fiercely on his wife, wearing her out with repeated pregnancies because he will not dull his pleasure by using contraceptives.

A steamy hive, Arfive, yet more than just a Western Peyton Place. Guthrie can convey the ambience of an entire Montana winter in one incisive paragraph. He has some of the compassion Collingsworth lacks. His narrative gallops; his plot is tightly contrived. Too tightly, perhaps: we feel the calculation in the close-knitted scenes, the clipped dialogue, the searching looks as the characters analyze each other for our benefit, and the concern for contemporaneity in tone since there can be none in setting. We are held, yes, but not really buffeted as the Titty flows on through a vanished time, a vanished world.

David Lavender has written a number of books, fiction and nonfiction, about the American West. The most recent is "The Great Persuader," a biography of Collis P. Huntington.

RETREAT IN GOOD ORDER

by Jane White

Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 267 pp., $5.95

Reviewed by Patricia MacManus

■ Empire may have gone into the attic of history, and many a staple of British traditionalism along with it. But on the English literary scene one staple, at least, seems to remain impregnable to change: a certain type of meticulously crafted novel based on "situation" drama in the lives of people who, ultimately, come through as fictitious and forgettable. Granted, both qualities are ubiquitous in the mass of American novels, too. The point is that the English do this sort of thing with such stylistic expertise, such intimations of significance and sensitivity, that one feels fleetingly churlish to find it all so undernourishing.

Jane White's current novel is a case in point. Technically expert she certainly is, and presumably serious in intent. Moreover, her theme in *Retreat in Good Order* has provocative possibilities in its psychological spring-off—the effect produced by an adolescent girl on the attractive, childless couple she comes to live with.

Sarah and Robert Hunt are forty-ish, well-off, and lead an apparently rewarding life—"apparently" because we never actually see them functioning outside their everyday domestic world, nor do we have a clue as to whether these supposedly cultivated people ever read a book, look at a painting, listen

to a piece of music. We do know that Sarah's charming house in Kew reflects her hand for "warm and original" décor, and that she and Robert "believe in politeness in marriage," as their dialogue proves. This, combined with an active sexual relationship (duly described), conveys an aura of slightly complacent conjugality. Then, unexpectedly, into this courtly household comes a young stranger in a strange land—Maria, the sixteen-year-old daughter of Sarah's suddenly deceased, long-expatriated brother, who years before had married an Italian and subsequently been widowed.

The convent-bred Maria responds to the concerned attentions of her newfound relatives with affectionate docility sparked by glints of earthier impulses, while, under exquisite Sarah's tutelage, her soap-scrubbed plainness is coaxed into a spring-fresh winsomeness, a nubile promise. Stirrings of that promise gravitate covertly—at first—towards Robert, who, most upright of men, experiences his own disturbing stirrings and ambiguous encounters, which "he did not wish to dwell upon." Nor does the author, in a truly exploratory sense. The neatly plotted events that ensue bring the tale to an explosive crisis, signaling change and growth through exposed emotions, converging insights. But the ending is blandly allusive in its prognosis.

As I say, the English do this sort of thing well. But what literary significance this sort of thing has in A.D. 1971 beats me.

Patricia MacManus is a free-lance literary critic.

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The Theater

Henry Hewes

Singed Hero

DID YOU EVER see a comedy in which a romantic girl heats up a coal till it's red-hot and then deliberately drops it on the leg of the young man she had been in love with only five minutes earlier? Well, this happens in *The Playboy of the Western World*, and John Hirsch, director of the current Repertory Theater of Lincoln Center revival, has taken from this horrifying incident a cue to present the 1907 comedy as a condemnation of women's compulsion to destroy the heroes they inspire their men to be.

Unfortunately, this point is made late in the play, and the two-and-a-half acts of shenanigans that precede it are most effective when they are enjoying unabashedly the merriment of the preposterous situation playwright John Millington Synge conjured up. The situation is a simple one. Christy Mahon, a doltish young farmer, arrives with a tale of having killed his father, and to his surprise finds that his criminal act makes him a hero to the local girls and particularly to Pegeen Mike, with whom he falls in love. The fun is compounded when his wounded but not killed father shows up, and Christy feels obliged to kill him again to preserve a heroic identity. Usually, the play is performed with maximum mirth, and Pegeen Mike's final complaint that she has "lost the only playboy of the Western world" emerges as a charming lament for the riches our romantic imaginations can supply.

But this production is unromantic from the beginning. Martha Henry, a warm and accomplished actress, depicts for us a Pegeen Mike who is tough and earthy. The best she can do in a town where good husbands are hard to come by is an anemic fiancé, played with appropriate sheepishness by James Blendick. When Christy arrives dirty and fearful, she cleans him up and encourages him to become the kind of man she'd like to capture. As Christy, David Birney underplays the obvious comic opportunities to relish the astonishing success he is suddenly enjoying. Instead, he makes sure that we see Christy's ordinariness and vulnerability. As a result of this approach and the cast's insistence upon attempting full Irish dialects no American company can really master, the first act has less theatrically imaginative joy than we had anticipated.

It is not until the middle of the evening that the actors relax a bit and have fun. Then Frances Sternhagen plays the predatory Widow Quin in a lighter key. Philip Bosco and Ray Fry become most droll as a pair of drunks returning from a wake. Elizabeth Huddle is both lovely and uproarious as the village girl who is thrilled that Christy's presence will at last give her something worth confessing to the local priest. And best of all is Stephen Elliott as Christy's father. Mr. Elliott's portrayal is a masterful mixture of congenial ignorance and a dangerous underlying fierceness. Here it is most entertaining. But it also indicates that

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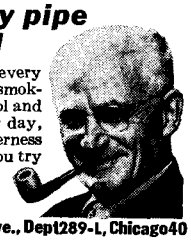

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Near the end of the play, the actors revert to sobriety. Mr. Birney achieves in scorn the fire he had lacked in telling tall tales. And Miss Henry challenges her audience with her stern and self-indicting delivery of the famous final line. It is most welcome to find this company risking such a strong interpretation of a play even at the cost of losing some of its charm and laughter.

More than a year back the League of New York Theaters recognized that the noticeable decline in playing weeks of Broadway shows was threatening to become a permanent one and it set out to do something about the situation. What it did was revealed at January's Drama Desk meeting by league president Richard Barr. First of all, the Broadway curtain time for all shows was changed to 7:30 p.m. in order to make theatergoing more convenient for people who had to be at work at 9 o'clock the next morning or who faced a post-theater commuting journey to the suburbs. Although it was too early to evaluate the effectiveness of this program, on the first Monday night, attendance at Broadway theaters, despite miserable weather conditions, was up by 25 per cent over the same date last year.

To encourage students to attend the theater, the league has asked all box-office treasurers to sell one or two tickets per person at half price to students presenting ID cards, as far in advance as a week before the desired date, if in the judgment of the treasurers those tickets would probably remain unsold at regular prices. Since business is at least 25 per cent better on weekends than on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, or Thursday nights, students' chances are vastly improved if they can do their theatergoing on weekdays. Yet, of the twenty-three shows now on Broadway, only five (*Sleuth*, *Home*, *Two by Two*, *Applause*, and *Hair*) are exceeding 80 per cent of capacity business, which leaves eighteen attractions that should have some seats available to students at half price even on weekends.

But most remarkable of all, the league has convinced all the theatrical unions and the theater owners to agree to a "Limited Gross Contract" that would make it possible for certain plays to operate for about a third less than heretofore.

For instance, a Broadway production that might formerly have cost $100,000 to produce and $20,000 a week to operate can now be produced for $90,000 and can now operate for $13,000, provided the producer agrees to pricing his tickets so that his maximum potential box-office revenue is $25,000 a week. The producer will, if his show is only partly successful, have a longer number of playing weeks in which to recover his backers' investment. Furthermore, if his show turns out to be a smash hit, he can still switch to a regular contract.

The hope is that the LGC will lead the producer to reduce his ticket prices to about a $5 top. However, there are other possibilities. For instance, Sir John Gielgud has said he would like to play King Lear provided he didn't have to perform the exhausting role more than four times a week. An LGC producer could scale his theater at high prices that would make possible $25,000 in revenue from just four performances. Or Zero Mostel might be willing to commit himself to a Broadway play for a maximum of sixteen weeks between more lucrative film engagements and might accept a nominal salary in order to give the producer a chance to break even on a limited run.

As for the theater owners, the new formula gives them a better chance to hold on to their less economically viable playhouses. Of the twelve theaters that have agreed to make themselves available on LGC terms, all but one have been dark more than half the time during the past two years.

What effect might this have on Off-Broadway? Some of the plays produced there in the past would now be attempted on Broadway, and there is nothing to prevent an Off-Broadway show from transferring to Broadway under LGC terms. Furthermore, a play like *The Effect of Gamma Rays on Man-in-the-Moon Marigolds*, which has a $7.95 top, could actually reduce its prices if in a larger Broadway playhouse, and the producer's net weekly profit at capacity would be about $6,000 as compared to $5,000 Off-Broadway.

On the other hand, producers may be deterred by the moving expenses and by the fact that no show has ever moved successfully from an intimate Off-Broadway playhouse to a larger Broadway theater. Now attempting such a move (though not under an LGC contract) is one of our most ingratiating musical hits, *The Me Nobody Knows*. At the moment, the show is selling out its cheaper seats presumably to the same people who would have gone to see it Off-Broadway, but it is having an uphill struggle to sell its higher-priced seats to Broadway theatergoers.

These new measures in themselves may not solve the theater's problems. But they are encouraging in that they indicate the hitherto dormant possibility that logical industry-wide action can be initiated.

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World of Dance

Walter Terry

—*Martha Swope*

Two of the dance world's most famous defectors to the West, Natalia Makarova from Russia and Ivan Nagy from Hungary, in the American Ballet Theatre's "Giselle" (Act I)—"an incandescent lyricism."

Makarova: A Marvel

THE ESPECIALLY LUMINOUS light that shone upon the closing days of the American Ballet Theatre's thirtieth anniversary season (1940-1970) celebrated at the New York City Center (there had been a gala birthday season at the New York State Theater in the summer) was the debut of Natalia Makarova, Russian ballerina, who had defected late in the summer when her home company, Leningrad's Kirov Ballet, was playing in London [*SR*, Dec. 5, 1970]. Miss Makarova made her first appearance with her new associates in the ballet in which she has been acclaimed around the world, *Giselle*, ironically enough the sort of ballet that caused her to want to escape from the continuing confinements, at the Kirov, of nineteenth-century ballets. Shortly thereafter, with ABT, she had an opportunity to dance her first major comic role in the old *Coppélia* and her first modern dramatic role in Antony Tudor's *Jardin aux lilas*. In all, she was triumphant.

Disaster nearly struck the debut. Erik Bruhn, the world's acknowledged *premier danseur noble* who was to have partnered her, was taken seriously ill and hospitalized. A new Albrecht was needed for Makarova's Giselle. The ballerina asked for Ivan Nagy, an ABT star who had defected from his native Hungary in 1968 and whom she had seen with Ballet Theatre in London. The reason? "Because he is the same school." The school, of course, is the St. Petersburg-Leningrad school of ballet, which, in Imperial days, produced some of the greatest dancers of all time, and which employs the method of teaching introduced by the late Agrippina Veganova.

Since Nagy was doing guest appearances with the Boston Ballet, there was time only to rehearse the pantomime sequences and the lifts and to walk through a dress rehearsal. But it worked, and two of the world's celebrated ballet defectors from Communist countries (the third, Rudolf Nureyev, the most famous of the leapers to freedom, artistic and non-political) danced brilliantly. Nagy said later, in his heavy Magyar accent, "Was numb. Could have cut off arm—would not feel." But the audience felt the presence of two great artists who brought to the stage superb technical prowess —soaring leaps by him, floating leaps by her—and a stylishness of balletic line that simply proclaimed the elegance and the beauty of flawlessly disciplined bodies moving in space.

All balletomanes were querying each other: "How does Makarova compare with Carla Fracci?"—another superlative Giselle. Makarova does not compare with Fracci, nor Fracci with Makarova. They are both supreme interpreters of Giselle (along with Markova, Alonso, Ulanova, and, very possibly, the first Giselle, Carlotta Grisi), for watching Fracci, you think of no one else—there are no intrusions of comparisons—and watching Makarova, the same individual magic prevails.

As Swanilda in *Coppélia* (Delibes), Makarova was an enchantingly mischievous heroine—what a comedienne she is!—and in Fokine's *Les Sylphides* (Chopin), she and Nagy danced with an incandescent lyricism that one rarely sees in today's more bravura attacks on ballet phrasing. The Tudor *Jardin aux lilas* (Chausson) found the ballerina making the leap to free-style dance movement with ease and dramatic verity. She is different from other ballerinas (including the great Nora Kaye) who have interpreted the role of a bride forced into a loveless marriage, but on her own terms she is enormously effective in combining modern dramatic gesture—clean and kinesthetic and unadorned—with old-fashioned mime and that breathtaking balletic line that is her heritage from the most royal of royal ballets. (In this performance, I was impressed with young John Prinz's portrayal of the lover, a part he had done less then adequately during the last season, and Mimi Paul's characterization of the desperate mistress of the bridegroom-to-be.)

When Bruhn had recovered, he and Miss Makarova appeared in a tastefully arranged *pas de deux* composed of excerpts from Act II of *Giselle*. In a word: heaven! Consummate artistry plus bouquets and wreaths and ovations and hysteria from the fans.

The American Ballet Theatre's winter season, which broke ballet box-

(*Continued on page 89*)

Makarova and Erik Bruhn in a "pas de deux" from Act II of "Giselle"—"Consummate artistry."

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Priorities

Continued from page 37

the individuals who inhabit them; that our open spaces be not thoughtlessly or deliberately defiled and destroyed. Since man is an intensely creative animal, as inspection of the work of any of his generations shows, in the new future, alongside science and technology, a concern for the arts, creative and performing, is essential to the full development of the individual. (Even the lonely shepherd in the Andes plays the flute.) Democracies have not been remarkable for such a concern, and we witness in America today an increased popular demand for all the arts—simultaneously with a decline in their dollar support. Man does not live by bread alone. As our democracy of the future makes its choices, how will it make this one?

This has been only the briefest catalogue of the implications for our future, if we should decide to balance the material quality of our public and private lives and simultaneously achieve a national community in which each individual born into it has not only an equal chance at the starting line but a genuine opportunity to exercise to the full his individual abilities and capacities. Perversely enough, the cost of such a future involves restrictions we have never been accustomed to (and do not like) and positive, aggressive actions of a kind from which by instinct or lethargy we tend to shrink. *But it does not involve anything we cannot do.*

At each level of government the process of reordering involves deciding where our available resources are to go and where they are not to go. This may be done by taxing, decree, incentives, or penalties. There are a wealth of devices. If we go such a route, we will make many mistakes. We will become disillusioned by many false starts, and in our disillusionment we will forget the deterioration and chaos that are now slowly beginning to manifest themselves as we continue to allow scarce resources of land, money, and people to be employed mainly by chance and without an explicit concern for the shape of the future.

Our price tag includes a new national attitude toward all kinds of government, public and private, a recognition that present-day institutions were designed for a simpler past and can no more be expected to serve well tomorrow's complex and sophisticated needs than General Motors' initial organization chart would serve its 1980 business needs.

Since human conditions and affairs are changing at an accelerating rate, a second price tag of the future is found in the question: Can we become a nation characterized by continuous internal change, working ahead of our problems and not responding only to near disasters?

A third price tag is information. For all our science, technical skills, new and exciting capacities for gathering and storing information in nearly any desired shape and quantity, we do not have information by any means sufficient to make informed choices about the future. For example, we literally have no true breadth or depth of information on the health of Americans or on the impact of sickness or malnutrition. Without a vast new quantity and sophistication of information in every field, we shall make very much poorer choices, and we may make some disastrous ones that could have been avoided—and yet information, with its implications of national data banks and the like, frightens us as an invasion of the remaining privacy of the individual. With equal urgency we need the former, and we must preserve and reinforce the latter.

The real price of the American future is our willingness to grow up and become an adult people. It is a matter of spirit. Are we ready to recognize that all choices are competitive? Money choices are competitive. Even freedoms are competitive. If we don't want the freedom to be robbed, we must curtail the freedom to rob. If we want the freedom to buy a house without discrimination, we must abridge the freedom not to sell a house to a black man.

We have to do some national choosing. This is the price of the future. The mature adult understands a world of choice. The adolescent hopes somehow to avoid it. When a man finally comes to know that there is truly no free lunch, when he then chooses the better and not the worse—the better for his long-term happiness, not his immediate delight; the better for his whole community and nation and not the appearance of better for *his* family or *his* group—and when he decides to pay for these choices by giving up those alternatives on which he places less value, then he has bought and paid for his good future.

The statement that he who wishes to save his life must lose it was a statement of hard fact and not a pious sermon. A whole nation has never faced up to this fact. It is the price of our future.

Can we afford it?

"It was an automatic mugging machine."

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Music to My Ears

Irving Kolodin

The Generations of Shostakovich

A WHOLE ERA in the life of Dmitri Shostakovich passed in review on the recent evening that brought together his son Maxim, as conductor, with his father's Eighth Symphony in a program by the American Symphony Orchestra in Carnegie Hall. Simultaneously the older Shostakovich's Fourteenth Symphony of 1969 was being performed for the first time in New York by The Philadelphia Orchestra in a Philharmonic Hall program under the direction of Eugene Ormandy.

As was the case with its predecessor (the setting of Yevtushenko's *Babi Yar* also introduced by Ormandy early in 1970), the Fourteenth is a symphony in name only. Dedicated to Benjamin Britten, it is a merited compliment for specific as well as general reasons. What Shostakovich is offering as his Fourteenth Symphony is a song cycle on a pattern cultivated if not devised by his English contemporary. That is one in which the unity is provided by subject matter rather than a single poet (a scheme that Britten used as early as the Serenade for Tenor, Horn, and Strings of 1943). With Shostakovich the preoccupation is with death, as evoked in texts by García Lorca, Guillaume Apollinaire, Wilhelm Küchelbecker, and Rainer Maria Rilke. He has set them all in Russian translations.

Whereas *Babi Yar* was symphonic to the extent that it utilized a large chorus and a full orchestra as well as solo singers, the Shostakovich of the Fourteenth is content with an ensemble of strings (augmented by a small percussion group stressing bells, vibraphone, xylophone, wood blocks, castanets, and celesta). There may be a touch of practicality in this conception: The work was first performed in the Soviet Union by Rudolf Barshai and his celebrated Moscow Chamber Orchestra. This means it is eminently tourable and could be performed by other than fully staffed symphony orchestras.

Musically, the work derives from a little-known category of Shostakovich's music, though he has cultivated it number by number on a parity with symphonies. That is the one which includes more than a dozen string quartets, some of which contain greater, much more personal music than the larger, more publicized works of the same period. The Fourteenth shows a superb mastery of all the arts of string writing, with many glowing touches of color and dynamic accent emanating from the added instruments.

But the spirit with which these patterns are informed is, for the most part, drab, morbid, and defeatist. Contrary to some assumption, the subject of man's mortality need not necessarily result in a work of unrelieved somberness. In the recent past, Richard Strauss found a resurgence of his authentic eloquence for the settings called *Four Last Songs;* Gustav Mahler sketched an unforgettable portrait of life's beauties as well as its brevity in *Das Lied von der Erde;* and Shostakovich's own countryman Mussorgsky mixed irony and imagery in his famous *Songs and Dances of Death.*

It would be hard, however, to find any other work treating the same subject that is so lacking in all these qualities as the Shostakovich symphony. Imagery it has to a certain extent, but little eloquence, feeling of fulfillment, or, even, beauty. Rather, the emphasis is on "ardent lovers" in "eternal sleep," death stalking "in and out of the tavern," a suicide, a soldier who will die before nightfall, and so on to the conclusion with Rilke's "All-powerful" death. Save for the mirthless laughter from the xylophone in the apostrophe to the soldier, there is little presence of the Shostakovich who fashioned the satiric "Polka" in the *Age of Gold* or the pulsating line of the slow movement in the Fifth Symphony. Here we have too many ruminations and too few revelations, a lack of breadth and perspective.

There could be nothing but praise for the outstanding effort by the inner cadre of the great Philadelphia string section, whose nineteen players matched soloistic strength under Ormandy's impelling direction. Bass Simon Estes delivered his music with the full impact of a great voice and the fluency in Russian that seems to come naturally to the Negro. Phyllis Curtin's soprano was hardly the match for the vocal line with which she was engaged, but she produced her best effort where it counted most, in the final two sections, especially "The Death of the Poet."

In a week-long succession of pianists that included Alexis Weissenberg as soloist in the Brahms B-flat Concerto with The Philadelphia Orchestra (Assistant Conductor William Smith replaced Ormandy, still recovering from recent surgery, in this work), there was the greatest personal pleasure in the performances by the best-, and the least-, known among them. Artur Rubinstein began still another New York season with an all-Chopin program in Philharmonic Hall, followed on the next evening by Alfred Brendel in his first local orchestral appearance as soloist in the Mozart C-major (K. 503) with the New York Philharmonic under Daniel Barenboim's direction.

Rubinstein's was a rarity among Chopin programs, one without a sonata. Unless, that is, one chose to interpret the first half of the evening as Chopin's "Rubinstein" sonata. That thought emerged from a four-part sequence of which the F-minor Fantasy was the opening allegro, four well-matched preludes a fanciful scherzo, the F-sharp Impromptu a lyrical slow movement, and the F-sharp Polonaise a stormy finale. The key sequence didn't quite fulfill classical imperatives, but what is a half step between such friends as Rubinstein and his audience?

What this great artist offers at this time of his matchless career is not the everyday kind of virtuosity, but precisely what such practitioners lack—great artistry. As early as the first half-dozen measures of the Fantasy, he established his rare blend of musicianship and insight with his treatment of the grace notes and spread chords that many others treat as arpeggios. For Rubinstein, they were all part of a grand design that carried the music forward insistently and invincibly. What followed provided the rarest of concert hall experiences: one that was not merely pleasurable and absorbing, but educational as well.

The Brendel-Barenboim Mozart was uniquely compatible not only for the community of impulse that any two musicians may develop, but particularly for its background in a common source: the artistic authority of the late Edwin Fischer, with whom both studied. In the foreground was the kind of enlightened understanding that took in the opportunities for individual embellishment which the composer provided in this work, not only in the cadenza, but repeatedly in the other movements. Brendel responded to these with insight and dexterity, while Barenboim was insinuating the orchestral writing as deftly as though he were both soloist and conductor. The evening began with Stravinsky's D-major Concerto for Strings, firmly articulated under Barenboim's direction, and concluded with the C-minor Symphony of Brahms.

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David Butwin

On the Track—III: Railpax Vobiscum

JUST WHEN IT APPEARED that the last whistle had blown for American passenger trains, a plan was hatched in Washington to rescue and revitalize the nation's main intercity lines. Such institutions as the *California Zephyr*, the *James Whitcomb Riley*, and the *Super Chief* plus a host of lesser trains would be hooked up in a complete, if thinned-out, rail network. No man was more responsible for defending the country's passenger trains, or more surprised at the plan's early acceptance, than a tall, self-effacing Chicago lawyer named Anthony Haswell.

Haswell, who has contributed $300,000 of his own money and untold hours trying to bend unsympathetic ears from coast to coast, seems a bit dazed at the prospect of seeing the National Railroad Passenger Corporation (or Railpax) rolling unchecked toward its debut on May 1. On that date the quasi-governmental corporation, operating much the same way as COMSAT, will take over passenger service and run the pared-down system with a $40-million grant from Congress, $200-million in contributions that the railroads are required to put up as the price of getting out of the passenger business, and $100-million in government-guaranteed loans.

Far from sitting back and waiting, Tony Haswell continues to lobby for what he hopes will be a broader network than the Department of Transportation recommended in its first skeletal announcement last November 30. On a Saturday morning early this month, Haswell relaxed for an hour or two in his apartment near Chicago's Lincoln Park and permitted himself the luxury of admitting: "I'm very thankful for what we have accomplished. I honestly didn't think Railpax would be passed so soon. My goals at the outset were really more modest."

Unmarried, unflamboyant, and unyielding, the thirty-nine-year-old crusader has been called a crank, a clod, and worse by his railroad company foes who have tried to hasten the demise of passenger service on the grounds it is too costly to operate. Haswell has been compared to Ralph Nader for his prying, prodding tactics on behalf of the American passenger. "I certainly don't object to being compared to Ralph Nader," he said, puffing on a long cigar. "I may have turned off some people, but I'm just trying to do some good."

Haswell is chairman and founder of the National Association of Railroad Passengers. For that, he can be called a NARP. "NARP—if you'll pardon the expression—is an avowedly political action organization I started in 1967. There was a series of bills introduced into Congress at that time to make it harder for trains to get out of the passenger business, and I felt it was in the public interest for a strong lobby to support these bills."

His interest is probably more than humanitarian. Haswell is an incurable rail buff, and at one time, before the more distinctively styled steam-driven trains went out of use, he could identify every locomotive and coach on the tracks. Like most American boys who grew up in the pre-jet age, young Haswell was smitten with trains from the day he took his first ride. That was in Dayton, Ohio, where his mother's family owned a department store and various other enterprises. He was four or five when he boarded a Pennsylvania Railroad train for Chicago, changed to the *Golden State Limited*, and rode out to Arizona on vacation. Nothing else was going too well in those Depression days, but America's long-haul passenger trains—"the varnish," as Lucius Beebe called them—ran faster and smoother on steam than they do today on diesel fuel.

In his teens Haswell worked as a signal helper on the Baltimore & Ohio in Dayton and pitched in digging cable trenches for the installation of grade-crossing protection. That was after the

—Washington Star

Haswell—"unflamboyant, unyielding."

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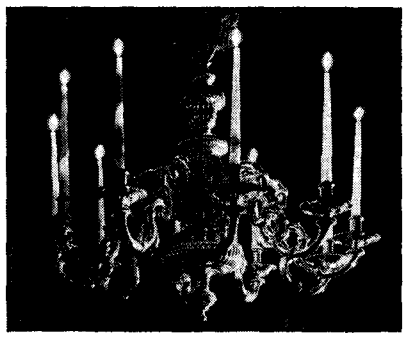
war when the varnish was beginning to fade and the ICC declared that trains could not exceed eighty miles per hour on stretches not controlled by automatic signals. It was a safety measure, designed to prevent accidents at rail crossings, but it also served to blunt the pride and dash of the one-time highballers.

After graduating from the University of Wisconsin in 1953, putting in a two-year Army hitch, and finishing Michigan Law in 1958, Haswell joined the legal department of the Illinois Central, which provided him his first and probably last look at railroads from the corporate side. "Then I dabbled for two years with a private practice in Chicago but didn't find that too intriguing. After that, I gained some very valuable experience as assistant public defender in Cook County." Keeping an eye trained on the shrinking passenger business, Haswell in 1965 circulated a petition asking the ICC to make a thorough investigation of intercity service. "The ICC decided not to—it had its hands full with the New Haven then—but in the process I stirred up a hell-uva lot of miscellaneous support."

Friends urged him to form a passenger association to take up the fight—an idea, he admits, "that turned me off at first." But in 1967, when Haswell decided that pending legislation to toughen the ICC's policies on discontinuing passenger trains needed support, he reconsidered and launched the dues-paying association. "The first thing we did," he said, "was to go down to Washington and retain a lobbyist, recognizing that trains are totally enmeshed in government and politics." The legislation lost, and the number of trains continued to dwindle, but Haswell and NARP meanwhile had won such Capitol Hill backers as Senators Warren Magnuson, Vance Hartke, Claiborne Pell, Gordon Allott, and Winston Prouty, and Representatives Harley Staggers and Brock Adams.

"Prouty did more than anyone else to talk up Railpax when it might have failed," Haswell said. "The Department of Transportation floated Railpax before the White House in January of 1970, but it got shot down. Prouty got Secretary of Transportation John Volpe to keep hammering at the White House, which at the time favored a less imaginative plan that was being discussed in the Senate."

Growing weary of shuttling back and forth between Chicago and Washington, Haswell moved down for seven months in 1970 to be nearer the battle. "When I make the trip I take the train fifty per cent of the time. I don't want to knock the B & O's *Capitol Limited*, but the dining car service is far from attractive, and the roadbed and qual-



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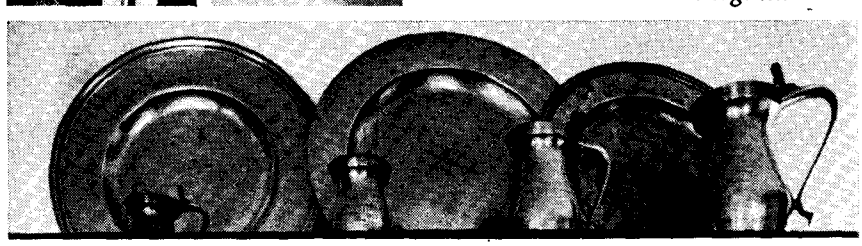

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ity of equipment are deteriorating. You have to leave at three-fifty in the afternoon to get to Washington by ten the next morning, which is slower than it used to be. In good weather it's usually on time, but when the weather is bad, well, I've had to jump off the train two or three times and catch a plane."

The Railpax bill, which passed the Senate in May and finally cleared the House floor in October just minutes before Congress adjourned for the election, has drawn mounting support from ecology champions, who see railroads as causing less damage than cars and planes. A figure oft quoted by railroad pushers is that one track can handle as many people as ten to twenty lanes of expressway. According to a widely released pamphlet turned out by NARP's Washington office—a brick townhouse Haswell bought at 417 New Jersey Avenue S.E.—"The most heavily traveled diesel railroad creates infinitely less noise and pollution per passenger than planes or cars. An electrified railway is pollution-free and virtually silent."

When Secretary Volpe unveiled the administration's proposed Railpax network last November 30, Haswell and others who had nurtured the bill in its formative stages immediately objected to the DOT's skimpy and neglectful outline. It tied fourteen pairs of cities with round-trip service, but intermediate stops were not pinpointed so that critics feared, for example, Minneapolis-St. Paul would be bypassed on the Chicago-Seattle run. Routes along the West Coast from Seattle to San Diego were entirely ignored. NARP, whose voice will no doubt be heard as the Department of Transportation rushes to complete the network by the end of January, has recommended in a report that three corridors be established on the West Coast and another between Chicago and Milwaukee and that all intermediate stops be specified. The ICC has issued a similar critique.

On his hands and knees poring over maps and schedules, Haswell traced for me the routes he considers worth salvaging or, in some instances, resurrecting. He would bring back the crack *California Zephyr*, which was retired last March and reinstated in an "abbreviated and amputated version" called the *Rio Grande Zephyr*. Instead of insisting that it follow the Western Pacific route, dazzling as it is, north of Sacramento through the Feather River Canyon, Haswell opts for the Southern Pacific tracks through Reno and across the High Sierras, scenery he insists is equally fetching. "Besides, the Southern Pacific route is shorter and it's important to keep Reno on the tracks."

As Haswell sees it, the *Zephyr* would run on the single line the DOT has sketched between Chicago and San Francisco. On the Chicago-Los Angeles circuit, Haswell strongly urges intermediate linkups with Kansas City, El Paso, Tucson, and Phoenix, even if it means bypassing Albuquerque, which he thinks could be connected by bus. His route would tap the considerable wintering traffic to Tucson and Phoenix. Otherwise, there is little the new corporation can do to improve today's Chicago-Los Angeles service, namely the Sante Fe *Super Chief*, probably the best long-haul train in the country.

Haswell grades the *Florida Special*, a wintertime train between New York and Miami, just as highly. No other long-distance trains merit such praise now that Great Northern's *Empire Builder*, absorbed in a merger, has begun to decline. The Seaboard Coast Line sells out the *Florida Special* nearly every day from December to April, offering candlelit dinners, Bingo prizes, movies, color television, a stewardess who models evening gowns and bikinis, and other extras for a surcharge of about $5. Seaboard sends three other trains to Florida—the *Silver Meteor*, the *Champion*, and the *Silver Star*—and all four turn a profit.

When Volpe failed to chart railroad corridors on the West Coast, he reasoned that train service between Seattle and Los Angeles was no longer in demand, the roadbed that sometimes cuts through mountainous terrain has deteriorated, and the railroads now serving the Coast (mainly the Southern Pacific) are losing $3-million a year on those operations. Haswell not only thinks such service is necessary, he believes it can sell.

Along the nation's other populous corridor, Boston-New York-Washington, Haswell hopes more and faster Metroliner-style trains will be put on to make the rail trip a better bargain than air shuttles. United Aircraft's Turbotrain, running experimentally between New York and Boston, has cut the time by thirty minutes, but Haswell contends: "I look upon the Turbotrain as a diversionary toy on that route. The Metroliner is heavier, has a higher capacity, and is better suited for the job. We think the Turbotrain should be put on the New York-Albany run because it's perfect for the curving New York Central right of way along the Hudson. New England simply has to put in electrified service on the shoreline route from New Haven through Providence to Boston."

Penn Central's Metroliner has proved

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in the two years since it was launched on the busy New York-Washington run that swift, well-tended intercity trains can lure passengers from the airlines. By trimming almost an hour off the everyday timetable and pampering its customers, at least those in the Metroclub Car, with some old-fashioned service, the Metroliner has increased overall business between New York and Washington by 40 per cent. What that means in hard figures, says Penn Central, is that only fifty more people are taking the train every day and fifty fewer are flying. But a trend to rail-riding is evident.

Volpe has said that Railpax would not show a profit until 1975, and surely at first the equipment and service may seem tiresomely familiar. There are 1,000 cars on various tracks that will undergo a sprucing-up and be put in service at the outset. Out West, particularly, strings of shining and relatively modern coaches stand waiting on sidings, retired from activity in the wake of mergers and discontinued service.

Haswell was gathering up stacks of charts and maps from the cluttered floor. "I am cautiously optimistic," he said, "but our job is not done. We believe that ultimately the government should acquire the tracks, roadbeds, signal systems, and other fixed facilities and make the private carriers pay user charges to the government. This would ensure that the tracks are maintained at a high-quality standard and that the companies wouldn't put on freight trains ahead of passenger service, the way they often do now. This really isn't asking too much. It would put railroads on the same basis with the federal government as highways and airports."

The high oracle of rail passengers said he has no quarrel with the other modes of transportation so widely preferred by American travelers, but if the day comes when fast, dependable trains are available for two- and three-hour journeys, he is hopeful that most will shun the plane and car. He saw me to the front door, and I was off for O'Hare to catch a plane (what else?) for Lansing, Michigan. What I didn't know until later—and I doubt that Haswell himself knew—is that a respectable passenger train runs thrice daily between Chicago and Lansing. Railroad marketing being what it is, how was I to know? The only afternoon flight to Lansing pursued a circuitous route through Milwaukee and Muskegon, an odyssey of longer than two hours that consumed more time waiting than flying. It was, if nothing else, an eloquent plea for Railpax.

(End of a three-part series)

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SR Goes to the Movies

Hollis Alpert

The Lady Is a Bore

CERTAIN TYPES stubbornly resist fictionalizing, whether it's in novels or films. One of these is the fashion model, whose career life is assumed to be glamorous, splendidly paid, well traveled, rich in excitement. Ah, but what lies behind the exquisite facade? Usually the story turns out to be that the girl is a mess of neurosis, miserable in her essential emptiness. So, in the case of *Puzzle of a Downfall Child*, a film devoted to the pathology of a model, as played by Faye Dunaway, we begin with cliché. And, of course, there is that pathetic moment when the elegant lady's lip corners begin to droop, when the skin sags beneath the eyes, and the camera stops clicking. It is this moment that Jerry Schatzberg, a fashion photographer turned director, has taken as his point of departure. We meet Miss Dunaway at the end, and then backflash through the wreckage of a life.

The screenplay (from a story idea of his own) was written by Adrian Joyce, who also wrote *Five Easy Pieces* and seems to have permanently detached herself from her real name, Carol Eastman. The model, Lou Andreas Sand, self-exiled to a lonely cottage by the sea, is telling her story to a photographer, who will use the taped recollections for a movie he plans to make. He was involved with her once, and that is part of the story, too. Her problems began, it seems, when she was sixteen and seduced by an elderly man. Her sexuality was scarred thereafter. Frigid, she desperately picks up strangers in bars for hasty stands, calms her nervous attacks with pills that are unspecified and wine that is (rosé), eventually breaks down completely, and spends a spell in a mental institution.

Obviously, it's not only a model that Schatzberg and Miss Joyce had in mind. There are echoes of Harlow and Monroe. The examination is of sick public beauty and baffled femininity—a relatively worthy theme, even though considerably overworked by now. Unfortunately, it doesn't work here, and one reason it doesn't is that we just can't get interested in Lou Andreas Sand. Part of the fault belongs to Miss Dunaway. The acting style she adopts is not only affected but reminiscent of other actresses and other characters. At times she reminds us of Vivien Leigh in *A Streetcar Named Desire*. Then she's Geraldine Page in *Summer and Smoke*. True enough, Lou is something of a phony, but it is life we ought to be reminded of.

Schatzberg is at fault, too. Surprisingly, he gives us little of the true atmosphere of photographing sessions. He fails to suggest what high fashion models really are: clothes hangers, relatively disposable and replaceable, as subject to fashion as the merchandise. His model takes herself far too seriously, but so does he. He is also more of a photographer than a director. The latter should quicken the material to life; Schatzberg frames nicely and works out color schemes, even to white on white in the hospital sequences. If I seem unkind, let me quote a magazine art director who sat near me: "Faye Dunaway would never make it as a high fashion model," she said flatly.

Truffaut has followed up his *Stolen Kisses* with the further adventures of Antoine and Christine in *Bed and Board*, but the effervescence is somehow missing on this occasion. The two have got married, and the problems they face aren't all that unfamiliar: an attack of infidelity on Antoine's part, having a baby on hers. Nevertheless, Jean-Pierre Léaud is still fun to watch, and Claude Jade is as perky as before.

Antoine and Christine are clearly on the road to maturity. They differ from their American counterparts less in their sophistication than in their acceptance of responsibilities. And they obviously care a great deal about each other. When Antoine strays off for a time with an exotic Japanese girl, Christine gives him his head, busies herself with others, and eventually he finds his way back to her. Physical attraction is seen only as physical attraction. Both take a lively interest in the people they meet; both adjust to domesticity. Truffaut views them humorously, fondly. He likes them, and we do, too.

If the movie satisfies and appeals less than *Stolen Kisses*, it is probably because the invention and the improvisation don't have the sparkle of the predecessor. Is that mysterious fellow who hurries in and out of the courtyard of their building really a strangler? No, he's just a television actor. The episodes end, not with a bang but a sputter. At the end we're a little sad, and probably Truffaut intended this—our boy and girl have grown up and now behave much like everyone else.

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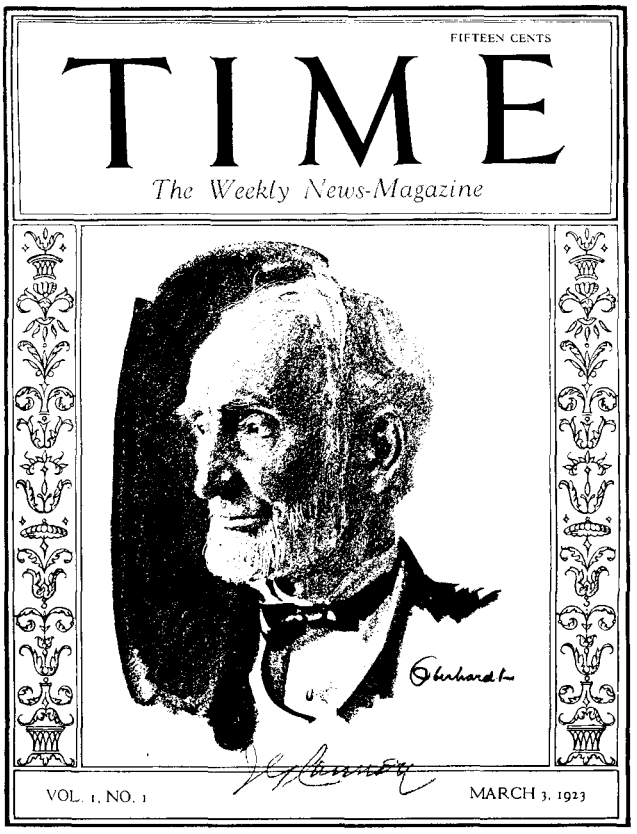

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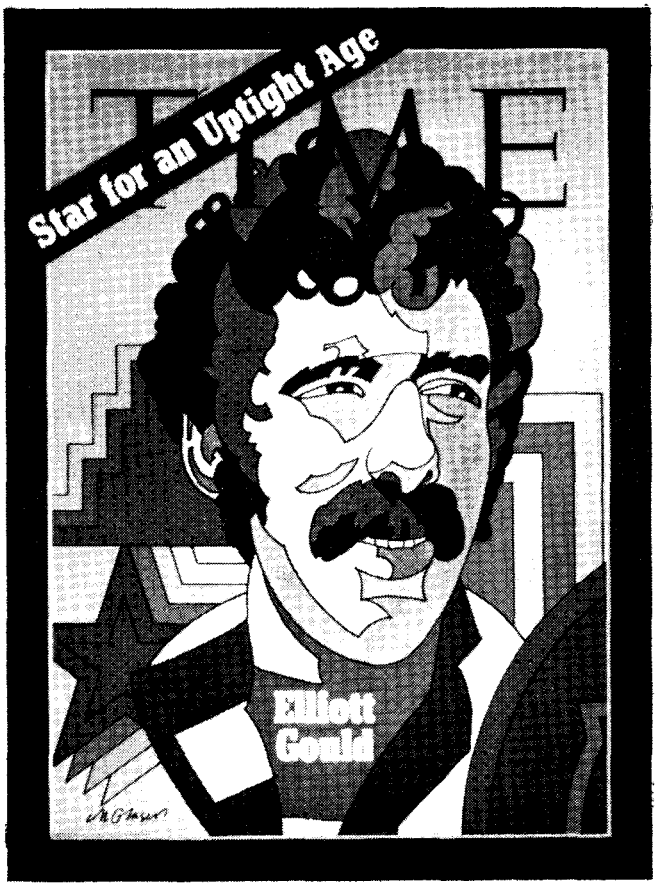

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The Fine Arts

Katharine Kuh

Of, by, and for Artists

TODAY, when the current Whitney sculpture annual regales and bores us with such oddities as a Cor-ten steel (the "in" metal of the moment) construction lying inert on the floor—208 inches of it no less—or a crinkled, inflated, polyethylene bubble masquerading as conceptual art, or an untitled "sculpture" that features two commercial sound amplifiers and is located not in the exhibition but on a roof at Mulberry Street (how much can we take on faith?), plus innumerable deliberately sloppy (for spontaneity's sake) cloth, rope, rubber, rubbish, gravel, soap, and hemp novelties—when such "creations" are called dominant contemporary trends, as the Whitney proposes, it is hard to believe that each week for the past two-and-a-half years a sizable group of young artists has been quietly meeting to explore precisely the opposite direction. This is not to say the work I saw by them is any more exhilarating than much that encumbers the Whitney show, but at least it is less phony, less pretentious, less given to misunderstood gigantism, and less chic.

Calling themselves the Alliance of Figurative Artists, these painters and sculptors meet each week for discussions aimed at alleviating "the sense of isolation so often felt by representational artists working in or near New York." Their hope is "to provide a forum in which working artists can exchange ideas." Sightseers, interested laymen, and hangers-on are not invited, a fact that sets this "club" somewhat apart from its famous abstract-expressionist predecessor. In a settlement house abutting the Bowery, a large schoolroom provides an unlikely setting for the meetings, what with bleak walls, bright lights, anonymous rows of folding chairs; yet, more than 200 members are apt to show up each Friday evening. With only coffee as an added stimulant, the meetings continue heatedly if at times innocently for several hours; then the participants disband for further confrontations at nearby bars, studios, and cafés.

The group is remarkably unstructured. There are no officers, no chairman, no dues, no obligations, no aggressively dominating individuals. Those who can pay 50 cents each time they come. There is, to be sure, a program committee that establishes loose guidelines in order to avoid repetitious hangups. Every week produces another experience, the meetings adapting themselves to the subjects broached and to the leadership of a different artist each time. For example, one evening Philip Pearlstein, possibly America's most unequivocal realist, steered a debate on current events. Commenting on the underlying differences that distinguish European art traditions from American, he so adroitly involved the group that further leadership was scarcely necessary. With utter freedom the participants took over, allowing one idea to lead to another.

Although the Alliance is mainly composed of young, relatively unknown artists, some members, such as Pearlstein, Richard Miller, Paul Georges, Gabriel Laderman, Louis Tytell, and Paul Resika, are more securely established. However, there is not the slightest sign of a teacher-student relationship. The older artists exert no special authority, nor do they want to. In a curious way the group disciplines itself, giving everyone the same right to speak and to be heard.

The discussion devoted to current events examined various relevant exhibitions on view in New York at the time of the meeting. I learned with amazement that many of the younger figurative artists were more drawn to Georgia O'Keeffe than to Thomas Eakins, the latter a figure one might have considered their natural ancestor. However, they found him "drab," his color lifeless. One of them did, it is true, extol his unswerving integrity, but none mentioned his psychological profundity. For them, O'Keeffe was essentially a realist, an artist who used color to intensify direct meaning. For me, who have, on the other hand, always considered her something of an abstract symbolist, this unexpected estimate only served to point up how fragile and amorphous are the boundaries of art. Even for admitted realists, or at least artists frankly involved with representation, terminology can be confusing. One young man, explaining why he adhered solely to figure painting even to the exclusion of still life, claimed, "A hallmark of our century is the number of artists who, no longer able to love and feel, retreat into abstraction," but he never made clear what he meant by abstraction, though he did suggest it was a symptom of alienation. He seemed to think that only man is a fit subject for man and that any non-representational aspect of human life is suspect.

The meetings take many forms, sometimes revolving around panels, sometimes turning into open forums where artists bring their own work, defend it, explain it, and then listen to the uninhibited comments of their colleagues. I recently attended such a session. Somehow I felt it never quite got off the ground, possibly because the young artist who led the program was too inexperienced to pursue certain of the more ephemeral points as they came up. A kind of nervous insecurity drove him on. The revealing generalizations that developed under Pearlstein's gentle probing now degenerated into somewhat finicky considerations. Yet, far more telling than the quality of the discussion was the catharsis of exposure. Many young painters, whose work had rarely been seen out of their studios, now were suddenly subjected to an audience, and in this case an audience of their peers. One girl told me that when she saw all those knowing eyes examining her canvas, she herself saw it in a new and not altogether reassuring light.

There were, of course, instances of personal hostility, of statements more extreme than credible, but taken by and large the give-and-take tended to be objective. Individual artists were invited to explain their work, their intentions, and their technical procedures. Then questions erupted. I remember a painter who appeared during the course of the meeting with an outsized canvas that a companion helped him ease into a corner. Well-organized and rather poetically painted, this cityscape occasioned more controversy than any other work shown that evening. Exactly why, I do not know. In any case, one artist extravagantly dubbed it "the greatest twentieth-century composition" he had ever seen, while another damned it as totally empty without a redeeming feature. Neither critique was particularly important; what really mattered was a despairing comment by a bearded neophyte who found this extreme dichotomy frustrating. He wondered whether all these verbal exchanges had been futile since no viable common meeting ground had resulted. "Is it possible we don't hear each other?" he asked. Most of his colleagues felt otherwise; for them, the very disagreements were justification for the Alliance. Despite or at times because of pedestrian, rambling discussions, they found that certain new insights as well as new doubts were generated.

When I asked the sculptor Richard Miller what he considered the organization's chief function, he said it was the recognition of an art direction not popular today. "We simply feel that a whole area has been excluded unnecessarily, an area that still offers great riches to the artist and the viewer." He

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also pointed out how valuable communication between practicing artists can be, especially if compassion does not presuppose agreement. All of which may be true, but I wonder whether an organization devoted to a specific trend in art is any more provocative than a less cohesive association. Painters and sculptors of all kinds need each other, though it is probably easier to set up and hold together a working alliance that grows out of mutual commitments.

The Alliance of Figurative Artists is based on the convictions of various young men and women who feel out of tune with the current art scene. Fortunately, they waste little energy commiserating with each other or deploring the present state of affairs. Instead they have created a permissive meeting ground where the airing of mutual problems, enthusiasms, and uncertainties is possible. What is surprising about the organization, and perhaps prophetic, too, are the number and the dedication of its adherents.

In communities smaller than New York City, groups like the Alliance are less needed, for creative people instinctively gravitate toward each other, unless too many difficulties block their way. As for New York City, only a concerted effort can bridge the brutal loneliness of this colossus. During the late Renaissance when large art workshops flourished and apprentices were plentiful, a natural community of interests developed. The isolated studio was a rarity; young artists grew up in a milieu that offered them help and encouragement. To a small degree the Alliance tries to supply a similar service. Typical are several cooperative galleries that have been sparked by the parent organization.

Members recall the evening when one of their number announced that a gallery was under consideration and urged those interested to meet in the back of the hall after the program was over. Thus, the Prince Street Gallery was born. Two others have also emerged as a result of the Alliance, all in the vicinity of the settlement house where the meetings take place. As a rule, gallery openings are scheduled on the same evenings as the meetings so members can drop by. In every case, the galleries represent group enterprises, each exhibiting artist contributing toward rent, heat, light, and other expenses. In addition, all remodeling and decorating is usually done by the participating painters and sculptors themselves. One time when I visited the Bowery Gallery, I was startled by a nearby mountain of broken bottles testifying to the number of winos in the neighborhood; yet, inside all was white and shipshape. The exhibition that night was composed of small, scientifically coordinated landscapes and still lifes. Each color, each line was carefully related to the next. These cool, modest compositions were a far cry from the havoc in the street. Nothing could have been more schizoid than this strange juxtaposition, and nothing could have been further removed from "the art Establishment" as we know it.

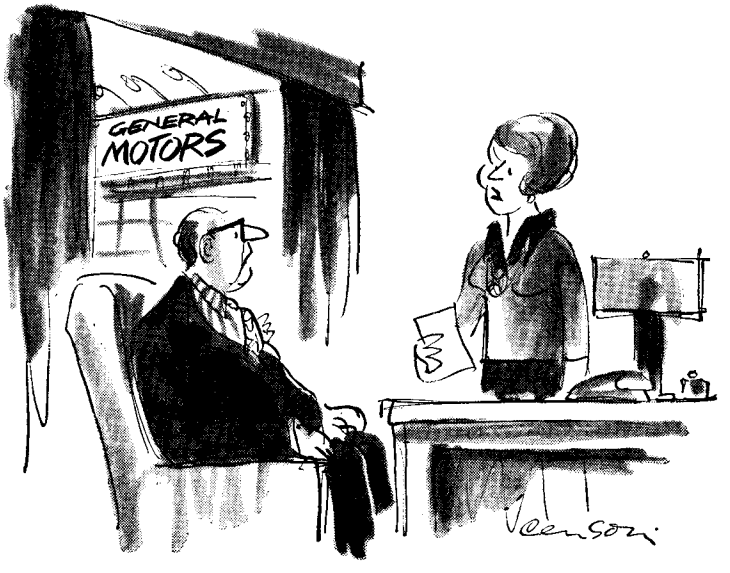
The Alliance is not politically or sociologically oriented. It is totally wrapped up in problems relating to art and specifically to non-abstract art. Consequently, there is little representation from the Far Left or from blacks. Participants are relatively polite to each other and markedly tolerant, allowing discussion to proceed without violence or vituperation. Equally unusual is the association's complete disinterest in publicity. Meetings are never photographed, the press is not invited, visitors are rarely encouraged, speakers do not play to the grandstand, and the aim is less to exploit the "club" than to protect it. Yet, even without the familiar art promotions endemic today, the Alliance grows steadily by word of mouth. It acts as both a comforting symbol and a proof that individuals can make use of an institution rather than let it make use of them. That the "club" requires no operational funds is an inestimable asset. Even those who may not sympathize with the limitations of figurative art must still admire the group's robust democracy. And, indeed, for many of the participants, figurative art seems an anomalous term open to frequent, unorthodox interpretations. Nothing is hard, fast, or authoritarian. And most extraordinary is the fact that no strong individual or splinter faction can rock the boat. Here, only the will of the group counts.

World of Dance

Continued from page 77

office records at the City Center, was not all Makarova-Bruhn-Nagy. The whole company danced superbly in the ballet world's most diversified repertory. There were new works, too, which I shall report on in a subsequent column, but I should like to close with a comment on the incalculable importance of casting. The New York City Ballet recently produced George Balanchine's new *Suite No. 3* (Tchaikovsky). This work concluded with his old *Theme and Variations* (the closing movement of the suite), which he had originally created for the American Ballet Theatre in 1947 and for stars who were experts in the grand manner (or high-class ham, if you will). His revival was dreadful, for he had, besides other drawbacks, a sweet little girl in the ballerina role, and she had no idea what it was all about. ABT, with Lupe Serrano or Cynthia Gregory, plus a cast of intensely theatrical performers (Ted Kivitt, Bruce Marks, and soloists and corps), gave it dazzle instead of treating it like a classroom exercise, as did NYCB.

Agnes de Mille's brand new *A Rose for Miss Emily* (with a commissioned score by Hovhaness and based on a Faulkner story) faltered badly at its New York premiere, with Sallie Wilson (usually a superb actress-dancer) and Gayle Young in the leads, but in a subsequent performance with Gemze de Lappe as guest star and Marcos Paredes as the doomed hero, it won rafter-shaking ovations. That's what casting will do. But more on the new ballets and ABT's brilliant season at a later date.



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As Others See Us

LONDON:

Unpromising

As TIME goes on—with continuing American troop withdrawals and increased assumption of the military burden by South Vietnamese forces—tension is bound to mount, is in fact already mounting, over how Hanoi may contemplate frustrating the whole operation. We can take it as axiomatic that frustrating it, somehow, sometime, is now a first priority for the North Vietnamese cabal. Without being over-optimistic, it is safe to assume that they have serious worries. Despite their more than twenty years of relatively successful "fighting and talking" to gain their objective, things can scarcely ever have looked so unpromising for them in South Vietnam, militarily and politically.

—*The Daily Telegraph.*

SHEFFIELD:

Anglo-American Relations

THE SO-CALLED special relationship between Britain and the United States is an easy target for ridicule and abuse, but in both economic and military terms its sudden death would be a bitter bereavement on both sides. For that reason, Mr. Edward Heath's effort to heal existing breaches is timely. To put it at the most cynical level, we cannot afford to wash our hands of the special relationship until we find our own role and adopt it. If this means going into Europe, it need not mean abandoning good will toward the United States, and certainly to do the latter without being sure of the former would be disastrous.

—*Sheffield Morning Telegraph.*

FRANKFURT:

Painful Discovery

PRESIDENT NIXON'S statement on the state of tension between the United States and the U.S.S.R. can, as a negative interpretation of the strategic position, also be a warning to some Western cabinets not to be too self-satisfied in their policy of détente.

The United States is steering a firm course as regards the East. Mr. Nixon is still offering negotiations instead of confrontation, but he has made a painful discovery during his term of office: The Russians have mistaken for weakness his readiness to negotiate. They shamelessly exploit the dialectics of nuclear policy. Under the nuclear shelter neutralizing all-destructive forces, they have made the incompatibility of a traditional controversy between nuclear powers into a guideline for all their political actions in the Mediterranean, the Middle East, the Far East—and in Berlin. The Russians have been testing their new position in the world.

The Americans have only just recognized that the Soviet Union has grown from a continental power into an empire challenging the world and intervening everywhere it can.

Washington now wants to correct its previously false evaluation. That is what is behind Nixon's recent decisions in strategy and foreign policy.

But he needs the understanding of Europe if his strategy of the firm course is to prove successful. An isolationist America would mean a Russian victory.

If Europe one day finds itself alone in a confrontation with the Soviet Union, the old continent would become, at best, another Finland.

—*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung.*

MILAN:

Catastrophic Repercussions

THE UNITED STATES is tempted in international politics to give up the heavy commitments taken on by the Democratic Party and to go back to the isolationist period. As Herbert Hoover said: "The business of the Americans is business. . . ." This trend is dangerous because it shows that they are tired in an ever more difficult world. They do not understand the catastrophic repercussions for the rest of the world.

—*Epoca.*

MOSCOW:

In Defense of Angela Davis

THE PROTEST MOVEMENT is spreading throughout all continents in connection with the frame-up against Angela Davis, who is being harassed for her communist convictions and selfless fight for civil rights in the United States.

The attitude of the big press and other mass news media in the United States is amazing; the wider the movement becomes, the greater is the zeal of these media in hushing it up. . . .

The rank-and-file Americans are not being told how the world public is really reacting to the harsh reprisals in the United States to the hounding of Angela Davis. The major papers in that country also do not print the comment of progressive Americans on this matter.

The frame-up against Angela Davis

Traffic in International Arms

BETWEEN 1950 and 1966, the United States sold, loaned, or gifted 15,640 planes, 2,500 ships, 19,827 tanks, 2,152,793 rifles, 71,174 machine guns, and 30,668 mortars. The sales were made through a Pentagon agency called International Logistics Negotiations. . . . This agency justifies its more than $2-billion in annual sales by alleging that "it helps promote collective security and strengthens the U.S. balance of payments. . . ."

The Federal Republic of Germany is obliged to buy American arms that it doesn't want and would rather not have. Washington says it's the only way that Bonn contributes to the maintenance of U.S. troops in West Germany. The fall of Chancellor Erhard's government was due, in part, to this situation. . . .

The repercussions and consequences of the U.S. sale-of-arms program are not exactly what the government expected when it set up the program. The policy of the United States to sell or give arms to allied countries is loaded with contradictions. Not only does it force the German Federal Republic to buy weapons it doesn't need, but it supplies arms to Pakistan to repel the communists, where the arms are used instead to fight India, and it sells jets and submarines to Latin American countries threatened only by guerrillas and thereby provokes arms escalations by the countries attempting to maintain parity with each other in areas of conflict. . . .

Selling arms to help balance payments in the United States is without doubt the most fallacious and least scrupulous justification that the ILN could possibly use. The "guardian of liberty and peace" cannot in any conceivable way sell arms to all comers simply to reduce its balance of payments deficit. . . .

—ALBERTO GARCIA MARRDER, *Indice*, Madrid.

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is being staged at a time when throughout the United States the persecution of the intelligentsia—students, teachers, writers, scientists—as well as of representatives of the blacks and other national minorities, has noticeably been intensified. Arbitrariness and lawlessness are becoming a permanent feature of American life.

—*Selskaya Zhizn.*

SOFIA:

The U.S.A. and the PWs

THE TRUTH IS that Washington is not touched in the least by the fate of some 300 to 400 prisoners of war. Thousands of Americans have died so far in the criminal aggression being waged in Indochina at present. The question of the captured pilots in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam is being premeditatedly fanned by the United States. It wants to mask its criminal war operations against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, to justify the prolongation of the military occupation of South Vietnam, and to mask its plans for the continued expansion of the aggressive war.

—*Zemedelsko Zname.*

PARIS:

A Serious Mistake

EDMUND MUSKIE, the strapping, friendly-faced Senator from Maine on whom an increasing number of Democrats are counting to reconquer the White House in 1972, is convinced the United States made a serious mistake by intervening in Vietnam. The wisest policy, he believes, would be for it to follow the advice given by General de Gaulle in his 1966 Pnompenh speech and set a deadline for the withdrawal of all U.S. military personnel from Southeast Asia.

Certain other opponents of President Nixon's Vietnam policy have their eyes on the elections scheduled to take place in South Vietnam at the beginning of 1972. The victory of an overwhelming number of neutralist candidates, they suggest, could make negotiations easier.

At any rate, Mr. Nixon's critics do not think that the Saigon government, uncertain of support among the people, doubtful of the loyalties of its administrative classes, and threatened by growing unrest in the cities, as well as the continued drain of operations in Cambodia, can hold out without considerable assistance from the United States. In particular, they believe the South Vietnamese will have to rely on U.S. air support.

—*Le Monde.*

Letters to the World's Editors

The Voice of the People in the Foreign Press

Losses on F-111

YOU RECENTLY reported the Senate subcommittee in Washington investigating the F-111 fighter-bomber program as having described it as a "fiasco," and the history of the F-111 as "studded with disaster."

It is comforting to know that they found the cancellation of [Great Britain's] order for the plane "clearly well made." But were we really obliged to pay for the cancellation when the fiasco is attributed to "mismanagement at the highest levels of [the U.S.] government? Expert advice was overridden by personal judgments by officials on complex matters beyond their competence. Deliberate attempts had then been made to deceive the Congress, the press, and the people." And the British government.

—*Michael Rubinstein,*
The Manchester Guardian Weekly.

British and American Poets

THE UNITED STATES is the most powerful nation. It is aggressive, energetic, competitive, and has a vitality that would shock most Englishmen. It is passionate and alive, and even its ferment and discontent are examined in a self-conscious light that leads to attempts at a fuller and richer life and a deeper emotional involvement in the aspirations of mankind. It is this kind of climate that has produced the great poets of the second half of this century, such as Theodore Roethke and James Dickey (both almost unknown here), or Robert Creeley, James Wright, and Robert Lowell.

England, torn between America and the Continent, has been unable to find itself in the latter half of this century. It remains terribly self-centered, insular, and clings to tradition and the past. Its young poets are deeply affected by the political, social, and economic ennui, and they reflect this by looking longingly across the Atlantic. It is the American voice that speaks for the English language now, and they know it.

—*J. D. Beardsley,*
The Listener, London.

Gallup Dismays

I WAS DISMAYED by November's Gallup poll telling us how Canadians feel about U.S. draft dodgers. Particularly unnerving is the realization that such a high percentage of our university-educated population evidently supports the view: right or wrong, my country.

Are we supposed to be elated that 51 per cent of men and women agreed that the young Americans "should not have been allowed in"?

This country is lucky to have these young people who have the courage to stand up and say: "I love my country, but I do not wish to kill, nor permit my children to be taught to."

—*Mrs. Anne Millyard,*
Toronto Star.

Models Not Brainless

MR. LUMLEY is probably correct in stating that it is a misapprehension to regard models as pretty faces stuck on the top of clothes hangers, for too often the faces stuck on the top are anything but pretty, but he is surely wrong in supposing that models' high salaries must denote high intelligence.

Given public demand (and this is what determines income in a world where a pop group may cost as much to hire as a symphony orchestra), an orangutan might easily earn a good model's income. Certainly my favorite model, highly successful in what Mr. Lumley calls "the profession," is a white cat.

—*W. K. Cowan,*
The Observer, London.

Dumping Ground

HIMACHAL PRADESH University is fast becoming the dumping ground for old, decrepit persons. There is nothing wrong about people on the other side of sixty, but what is disconcerting is that these superannuated persons have certain fixed ideas beyond which they are unable to go. The will to experiment and the courage to face challenges are rather lacking in them.

The Himachal Pradesh government should take immediate steps to see that the university does not pale into a second-rate institution.

—*Shiv Ram,*
Blitz, Bombay.

Outdated Law

SERVICEMEN can now afford good modern clothes. But it is so frustrating when we put them on to realize we are still so distinguished as servicemen, and quite an embarrassment to many civilians, male and female, with whom we associate. Sideburns and long hair are not now restricted to down-and-outs but are sported by doctors, Members of Parliament, and lawyers, to mention a few.

When will the powers realize that the low recruiting figures are a consequence of the ultimate in degradation: regulations concerning length of hair? We are victims of an out-of-date law introduced when insanitary conditions in various parts of the world made short cropped hair necessary.

—*Glynn C. Webb,*
Daily Express, London.

—*Compiled by* NICHOLAS G. BALINT.

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Youth and the Establishment

Continued from page 29

standing in the way are fairly evenly balanced. Whether this balance will be tipped positively or negatively will depend very largely on the nature and extent of the leadership exercised by Establishment groups. The main responsibility for a movement toward reconciliation and joint action now rests with the Establishment. Young people have been involved and committed for some time; it is our turn now. The situation cries out for reconciliation, for directing energies toward cooperation rather than conflict, for acting jointly on the awesome problems we face. We must be generative rather than reactive.

A process of reconciliation can succeed if we do not undertake it with naïve expectations. The realistic hope is for mutual understanding to the degree that we can work together despite differences in values and attitudes.

The task force will continue its work and is now helping to put several project ideas into operation. But none of us sees these projects as anything more than points of entry, an opening wedge into some of our complex and difficult problems. The hope is to help start a process of reconciliation, of collaboration, and thereby serve to stimulate and encourage many more joint-action projects.

There are almost infinite possibilities for youth-Establishment cooperation, but initiative and ingenuity and commitment will be required to develop and launch them on a meaningful scale. It might be as simple an idea as having businesses and law firms go to campuses not only to recruit students but also to find out how they can help the students to use their developing professional tools in the search for social progress. It might be a state's or major city's developing an intern program that really works. It might be providing logistical support—a meeting place, telephones, transportation—for a local group working on the environment. It might be a genuine effort within a large organization to open up communication with its younger members.

If 100 corporate presidents each undertook to develop or respond to one such idea for youth-Establishment collaboration, what a difference it would make. If they were joined by 100 university presidents, by ten or twenty governors, the heads of our ten largest unions, the leadership of half a dozen of our religious denominations, the presidents of twenty foundations, the leadership of a dozen professional societies—if each of these leaders developed one good project for youth-Establishment collaboration on the pressing social problems of our time, what a massive impact it would have.

I am talking now about new projects based on responsiveness to young people, not merely listing the activities in which we are now engaged. If we can do this on a meaningful scale, it will begin to complete the picture of a national service program generated in the private sector, matching the motivation and drive of the young with a comparable response by the Establishment.

If this could happen, faith in the American system would be redeemed among young activists. It would go a long way toward meeting their urge to be relevant and constructive, to be part of the decision-making process. The best impulses of the Establishment would be maximized, including the desire for reconciliation with the young and readiness to use skills and resources for purposes larger than private success. And perhaps most important, we would make progress on the tough issues that face our society today.

I believe these goals are possible. Whether they are attained will depend on the efforts of each one of us. I have confidence that we will rise to the challenge. And this is the prospect which makes me feel these are exciting times to be alive.

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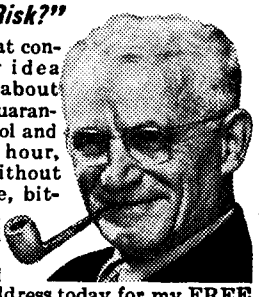

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The Hush of Rugs, the Banter of the Benign

by George Starbuck

Said

Senator Eastland to
Senator Ellender:
"Daniel P. Moynihan
May be our boy.

Got a real feel for the
Underimpoverished.
Anagnostopoulos
Fills him with joy."

Said

Senator Ellender
Back: "It's the cut of his
Megalopolitan
Jib I deplore.

If he can't cant like an
Okefenokeean,
What's an establishment-
Arian for?"

Said

Eastland to Ellender:
"Abraham Ribicoff
Gave me this excellent
Piece of advice:

Maximum feasible
Sesquipedalian
Tergiversation is
Cheap at the price."

Said

Senator Ellender:
"Tell that to Holland or
Long or McClellan or
Maddox or Byrd.

Jiggery-pokery's
Jiggery-pokery.
Treason is treason. A
Nerd is a nerd."

Said

Spiro T. Agnew, the
County Assessor of
Baltimore, Maryland
(Latterly Veep):

"Gentlemen, Gentlemen,
Have you no mercy? Your
Parliamentarian's
Trying to sleep."

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Environment

Continued from page 43

especially new products and new increases in production. Such a center should also identify potentially hazardous materials and promote research on their toxicity and persistence in nature.

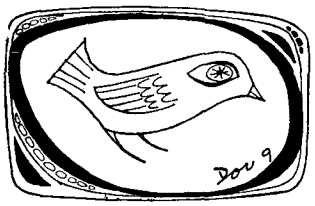
2) *Environmental Assessment*: Another information facility that centralizes data on the distributions of pollutants, and on the health and pollution loads of organisms.

3) *Problem Evaluation*: A think center to evaluate problems on the basis of the above information, to determine the urgency for action, and to identify options. Developing controls presents a most complex challenge. Efforts must be carefully evaluated in terms of their impact upon such elements as population, natural resources, and capital investment. The interaction of these factors, particularly how adjustments in one alter the others, is the topic of a most important study directed by Professor Jay W. Forrester of MIT. (See chart on page 43.)

4) *Public Education*: A service center to present the results in simple form and to distribute such materials to educational institutions and news media.

The existence of global pollution does not imply the need for a global solution. The activities of man that befoul his environment may often be effectively regulated wherever they occur. Most corrective action will probably have to be taken at national, regional, or local levels. At the same time, it is not enough for the United States, or any single nation, to exercise control. If other nations pollute our common resources of the air and the oceans, the perils remain. Research and development programs offer a great potential for international cooperation, and this could increase the likelihood of smooth international relations should a global pollution problem ever demand strict international regulation or control. The U.N. Conference on Man and the Environment, which will take place in Stockholm in 1972, is an ideal world forum for a serious deliberation of these issues.

Answer to Wit Twister, page 53: peals, pales, leaps, pleas, lapse, salep, sepal.



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(Continued on page 94)

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(Continued from page 93)

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KINGSLEY DOUBLE-CROSTIC NO. 1920

Reg. U. S. Patent Office

By Thomas H. Middleton

DEFINITIONS	WORDS
A. Ring Lardner story	35 56 61 117 159 186 27 33
B. Arrogant, hoity-toity, uppity	60 64 95 100 39 48 68 76 84 89 140
C. Drench	163 2 10 40 78 82
D. Former state of NW India, now a part of Pakistan	83 106 118 158
E. Bellicose (not listed)	173 183 153 178 6 17 31
F. Satyr of sorts (2 wds.)	32 37 49 187 41 73 77
G. Ancient city, S Palestine, now called Tell ad-Duweir	104 126 141 151 15 46 63
H. Battle that produced Molly Pitcher	138 157 179 5 45 108 111 115
I. Subordinates	121 132 167 177 185 22 51 87 7 47
J. Ancient capital of the Assyrian Empire	54 57 94 101 127 129 188
K. Intimidates, bullies	20 79 107 172 24 29 36 59 85
L. Sole; unique (3 wds.)	97 114 131 139 4 110 120 136 23 143
M. Displeasure, annoyance	148 162 91 98 154 13 34
N. Italian writer (1848-1913; "Riscatto")	55 113 147 75

DEFINITIONS	WORDS
O. Toussaint L'Ouverture's country	88 174 53 70 93
P. Utmost length to which one can go in action	164 180 9 125 134 119
Q. Involving physical effort; nimble	12 72 165 103 50 135
R. Place of punishment for the dead, Scandinavian mythology	122 69 96 105 176 145 21 42
S. Flatfishes of the genus *Limanda*	170 3 44 149
T. Howling	25 74 112 38 137 16 168
U. Surname of Chad in Henry James' "The Ambassadors"	28 150 182 52 67 58 80
V. Josiah ——: signer of the Declaration of Independence	144 1 161 18 109 152 26 62
W. Two words after *The:* Stephen Crane short story	86 30 166 156 102 171 14 189
X. Competes; tries hard	65 99 142 124 130 128 133
Y. British slang for beer, esp. weak beer	90 181 116 66 160 155
Z. Two-handed card game played with a 32-card pack	11 146 43 81 175 92
Z^1 The pair of swords of a Japanese Samurai	123 19 71 184 8 169

DIRECTIONS

To solve this puzzle you must guess twenty-odd WORDS, the definitions of which are given in the column headed DEFINITIONS. Alongside each definition, there is a row of dashes—one for each letter in the required word. When you have guessed a word, write it on the dashes, and also write each letter in the correspondingly numbered square of the puzzle diagram . . . When the squares are all filled in, you will find that you have completed a quotation from some published work. If read up and down, the letters in the diagram have no meaning . . . Black squares indicate ends of words; if there is no black square at the right side of the diagram, the word carries over to the next line . . . When all the WORDS are filled in, their initial letters spell the name of the author and the title of the piece from which the quotation has been taken. Of great help to the solver are this acrostic feature and the relative shapes of words in the diagram as they develop.

1 V		2 C	3 S	4 L		5 H	6 E	7 I	8 Z^1	9 P		10 C	11 Z		12 Q	13 M
14 W	15 G	16 T	17 E	18 V		19 Z^1		20 K	21 R	22 I	23 L		24 K	25 T	26 V	
27 A	28 U	29 K		30 W	31 E	32 F	33 A	34 M		35 A	36 K	37 F	38 T		39 B	40 C
41 F	42 R		43 Z		44 S	45 H	46 G	47 I		48 B	49 F	50 Q	51 I	52 U	53 O	54 J
55 N		56 A	57 J	58 U		59 K	60 B	61 A	62 V		63 G	64 B	65 X		66 Y	67 U
68 B	69 R	70 O	71 Z^1	72 Q	73 F	74 T		75 N	76 B	77 F	78 C	79 K	80 U		81 Z	82 C
83 D	84 B	85 K		86 W	87 I		88 O	89 B	90 Y		91 M	92 Z	93 O	94 J	95 B	
96 R	97 L	98 M		99 X	100 B	101 J		102 W	103 Q	104 G	105 R		106 D	107 K	108 H	109 V
110 L		111 H	112 T	113 N	114 L		115 H	116 Y	117 A		118 D	119 P	120 L	121 I	122 R	123 Z^1
	124 X		125 P	126 G	127 J	128 X		129 J	130 X	131 L	132 I		133 X	134 P	135 Q	136 L
	137 T		138 H	139 L	140 B		141 G	142 X	143 L		144 V	145 R	146 Z	147 N	148 M	149 S
150 U		151 G	152 V		153 E	154 M	155 Y		156 W	157 H	158 D		159 A	160 Y	161 V	162 M
163 C	164 P	165 Q	166 W	167 I		168 T	169 Z^1		170 S	171 W		172 K	173 E	174 O	175 Z	
176 R	177 I		178 E	179 H	180 P	181 Y		182 U	183 E	184 Z^1		185 I	186 A	187 F	188 J	189 W

Solution of last week's Double-Crostic will be found on page 22 of this issue.

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Johnnie Walker® Black Label 12 Year Old Blended Scotch Whisky, 86.8 Proof. Bottled in Scotland.
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The class in American problems meets tonight at five thirty.

"Man, the stinking air in this town isn't fit to breathe."

"You just can't get a decent apartment for love or money."

"Well, I just don't feel safe when I walk out of the house at night anymore."

"So we got a man to the moon. Big deal. But can we get trains to run on time?"

Listen. You'll hear people talking about problems. Air pollution. Housing. Crime. Transportation.

Except for the one problem which, if solved, could solve all the rest.

America's schools.

One out of three high school students drops out. And too many bright, talented kids never get to college.

So while we save money on our schools, we pay an enormous cost.

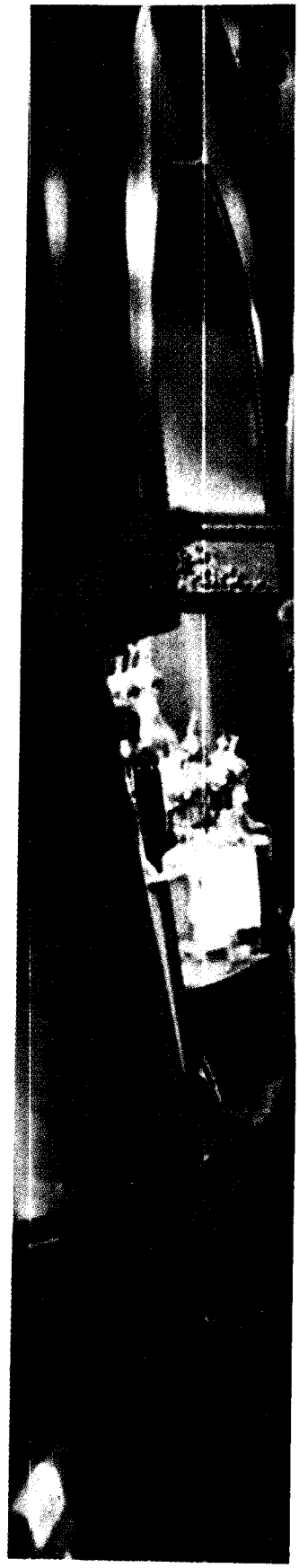
For we're cheating ourselves out of an entire generation of problem solvers.

Given money, and imagination, and talent, our schools will produce more than graduates.

They'll turn out American solutions to American problems. People who can make our world a better place in which to live, and work, and play.

Which is why our first national priority must be the very best schools we can possibly afford.

Can we afford anything less?



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In short, we have what it takes to serve you.

So shouldn't we be seeing more of each other? After all, we grew up together.

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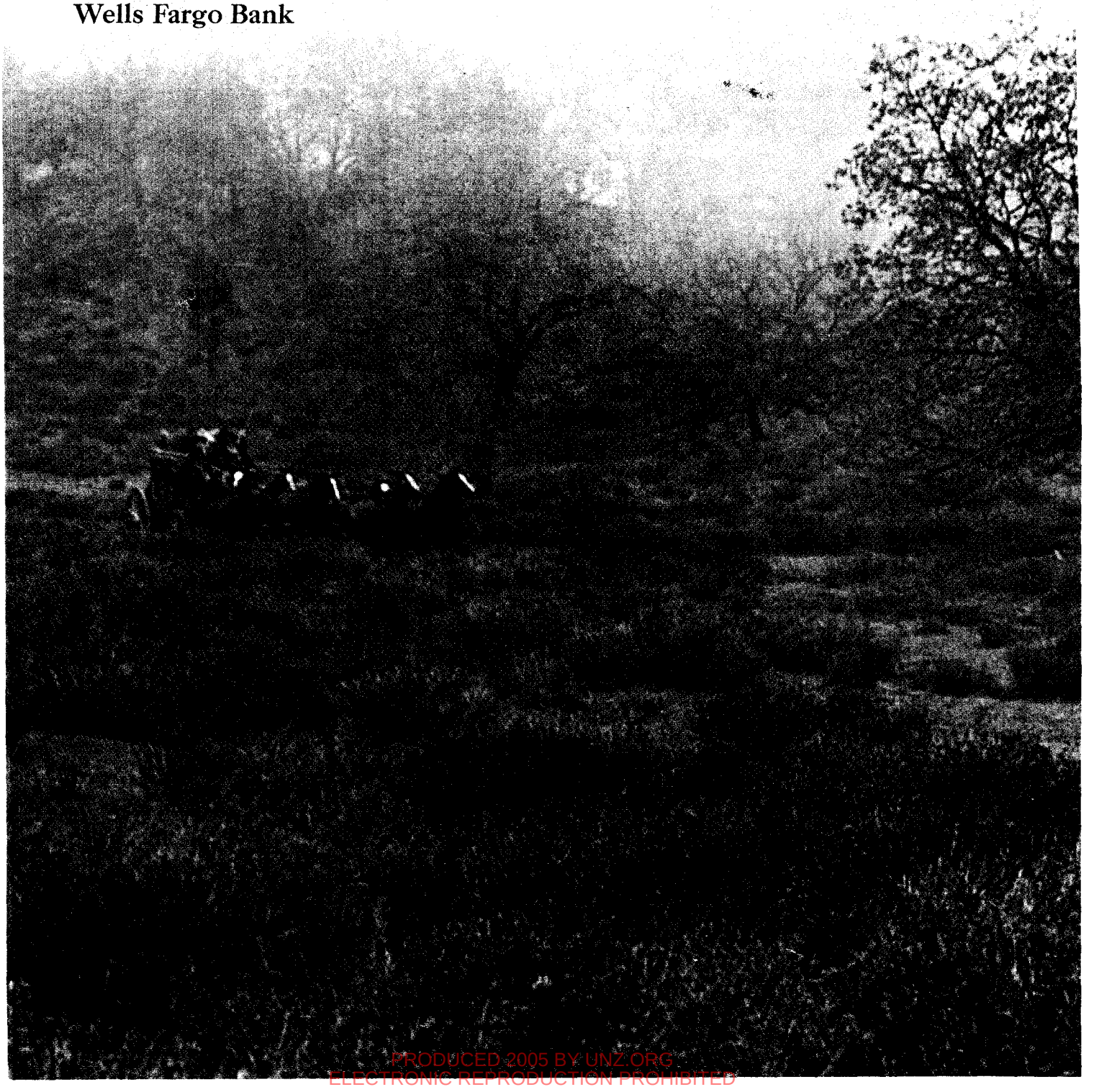
Wells Fargo Bank



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